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Socialist Campaign Book

1911-1912

TO VIMU
AIRBORNE

SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN BOOK

Socialist party (U.S.)

Compiled under the direction of
National Executive Committee
by Joseph Medill Patterson



CHICAGO
National Headquarters Socialist Party
J. Mahlon Barnes, National Secretary
1908

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SOCIALIST TICKET

FOR PRESIDENT

Eugene V. Debs
of Indiana

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

Ben Hanford
of New York

CHAPTER I.

WHAT A MILLION VOTES FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY WILL MEAN.

By Eugene W. Debs.

It is predicted that at least a million votes will be cast for the Socialist Party next November. To obtain a clear idea of what such a vote will mean it is necessary to consider the nature of the Socialist Party and take note of what it stands for.

The Socialist Party is an uncompromising working class political organization. It is fighting the battle of the wage workers of the world and stands for their welfare without qualification or evasion. Its demand is that all the means and instruments of production and distribution shall be used for the benefit of the actual producers of wealth, and that government shall be controlled by the workers and administered in their interest. Its platform is an honest and direct expression of working class demands, with a clear statement of the means proposed for their accomplishment.

Unlike the platforms of the Republican and Democrat Parties, the Socialist Party platform is a plain and simple declaration of principles and policies which all may understand. It was not framed merely with a view to winning votes. Its utterances are straightforward and to the point. There is no ambiguity; no evasion of vital issues; no possibility of double construction.

There is no attempt to compromise with capitalism; no effort to throw a sop to the enemies of labor; no adherence to the miserable fiction that the interests of labor and capital are identical. The Socialist Party, in short, proposes to place the workers in possession of all the wealth they produce and to insure to every individual full and free opportunity to labor. The elector who casts his vote for its candidates may do so with the positive assurance that whenever the opportunity arises every pledge of the party platform will be carried out to the letter.

The Socialist Party does not disguise the fact that its ultimate aim is the entire abolition of rent, interest and profit, and the collective ownership and operation of all the monopolized industries of the nation. A million votes for its candidates will, therefore, be an unmistakable challenge from the working class to capitalism. A million votes for the Socialist Party will be a notice served on capitalism that the workers are at last united and alive to their class interests. It will mean that the working class intends to use its political power, through the machinery of popular government and free elections, to force compliance with its demands by peaceful, legal and constitutional methods, to the end that wage slavery may be entirely abolished. The issue thus made up and clearly expressed is one that the leaders of capitalism cannot ignore. But they will be unable to meet the issue

in the ordinary way and must adopt new tactics in dealing with working class demands.

As long as the votes of workingmen are divided between the Republican and Democrat parties capitalism has nothing to fear, as both these parties are its equally subservient tools. Whichever of these parties is in power capitalism has nothing to fear. As a matter of fact there is no real difference between the Republican and Democrat parties. Both are supporters of the existing competitive industrial system and it is now impossible to tell a Republican from a Democrat by any policy that he favors or opposes.

This condition is so obvious that it is admitted even by the capitalists themselves. The capitalist press has already said, "it is not going to make a vital difference to the country whether the Republicans or the Democrats win this year." Capitalism must have a party in its service that can be used as a foil to the demands of Socialism, and as the usefulness of the Democratic party in that direction has departed, a million votes for the Socialist Party is bound to force a new political alignment and bring a new party, of middle class radical tendencies, into the field.

When the People's Party counted a million popular votes for Weaver and Field in 1892 capitalism became alarmed, and to guard against the possibility that the reforms demanded by the Omaha platform might be inaugurated a conspiracy was at once set on foot to destroy the party. This conspiracy was completely successful, and in the election of 1896 the People's Party lost its autonomy through fusion with the Democrats. A conspiracy of this nature directed against the Socialist Party cannot succeed. There will be no such thing as fusion, with any middle class reform party, as the Socialist Party is class-conscious. It accepts the gage of battle thrown down by President Roosevelt in his message of April 27. It is striving "to arouse this feeling of class consciousness in our working people," and seeks, not to reform the existing wage system, but to destroy it.

The only argument that has weight with capitalism is the argument of power. When the workers demonstrate that they have strength to compel, capitalism will concede. Nowhere in the world have the interests of labor ever been recognized except as the result of a display of power by the workers which the ruling class dared not ignore. This is emphatically true of Germany and England, in both of which countries Socialism is a virile political force. Notwithstanding the severe repressive measures that were directed against the Socialists of Germany in 1879, their inefficacy was well recognized. The German Emperor himself said that repressive laws were not sufficient to check the growth of Socialism, and that it was necessary also to do something to cure the evils from which the working classes were suffering. With the Emperor's approval Bismarck inaugurated a comprehensive plan of remedial legislation; hence the compensation, liability insurance and pension laws which measurably lighten the horrors of wage slavery for the German workingman. Similar laws in England give expression

to the fear of the ruling class, engendered by the remarkable show of strength which English Socialists have manifested in recent years.

That high priest of capitalism, Theodore Roosevelt, with greater political insight than other leaders of his class, has urged his so-called reform program for the express purpose of checking the spread of Socialism. He has pointed out that "a class grievance left too long without remedy breeds class consciousness, and, therefore, class resentment," and has plainly stated that in the measures he advocates he is "trying to steer a safe middle course, which alone can save us from a plutocratic class government on the one hand, or a Socialistic class government on the other." "We are trying," said he, "to avoid alike the evils which flow from government ownership of the public utilities by which interstate commerce is chiefly carried on, and the evils which flow from the riot and chaos of unrestricted individualism." The fear to which Roosevelt gives expression is latent in the capitalist class, and a million votes for the Socialist Party will at once fan it into burning activity. The immediate effect of such a vote would probably be a demand for the enactment of repressive laws to check the growth of Socialism, and it is probable that a number of idiotic and entirely futile measures of that character would be placed on the statute books. But the large and permanent result will be the enactment of remedial laws in the interest of wage workers, laws for the enactment of which the trade union representatives of the country have been vainly pleading for many years.

A million votes for the Socialist Party will mean the speedy enactment of an anti-injunction law, no matter whether the Republicans or the Democrats win the election. It will also mean a law exempting labor unions from the penalties of the Sherman anti-trust law, as well as measures for the relief of the unemployed, municipal, state and national. Eight hour laws, compensation and liability acts, and measures for the prevention of child labor and the supervision of mines and factories will be forthcoming; and all such laws will be upheld by court decisions declaring them valid and binding whenever they are put to the test. The judicial point of view respecting the constitutionality of labor legislation will undergo a sudden and remarkable change. Even the august Supreme Court of the United States may suddenly discover that Congress can enact laws forbidding railroad companies to discharge and blacklist their employes for belonging to labor unions without interference with the fundamental principles of this government. The effect of a million working class votes upon Congress, State Legislatures, Municipal Councils, the courts from the highest to the lowest, as well as upon all the executive and administrative offices of government, will be immediate, and will be felt and registered in all their acts relating to organized labor and the working class. The mere announcement of such a vote will accomplish more for labor in the way of concessions than could be obtained from the ruling class by ten years of striking and pleading for justice.

Nowhere else in the world are the workers exploited so shamelessly as they are in the United States. Nowhere else in the world are the lives of wage workers so brutally sacrificed and their rights so little regarded. In no other civilized country on earth is the workingman so little protected by statute law, and nowhere else in the world are the laws designed to benefit labor so contemptuously ignored by the ruling class. Speaking of industrial conditions in the United States as he observed them during his visit to this country a few years ago, John Burns, the English labor leader, said: "America, so far as the toiler is concerned, is hell with the lid off—hell with just sufficient daylight to see that there is a way out of it. . . . Sooner or later every trade in America will come to realize that the same fight for existence awaits them. Unless a check is put upon them these blood suckers who go on forming trusts will dominate the souls as well as the bodies of the American workingmen."

Recent events have awakened the leaders of the trade union movement to the truth of what Burns observed. They have come to realize that the capitalist class already dominates the souls as well as the bodies of American workingmen. In pleading for the passage of anti-injunction and other labor laws before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives at the last session of Congress, Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, said:

"I know that when we attempted to make some effort along political lines to secure even the election of one man or the defeat of another, we were lampooned as if we were committing some unholy act. The mere fact that we believed in and expressed a preference for one man over another at election, and exercised our rights as American citizens to appeal to our fellows that they might assist us at the polls in the advancement of the things for the interest that we feel to be ours and in jeopardy, met with this result. Well, if to take action at the polls is improper, if it is unjust and we ought not to do it, if the strike and the boycott are made unlawful and criminal, if the very agreements that we have with our employers, brought about peaceably, brought about by mutual consent and desire, are taken as proof of the success of our conspiracy and held against us, then, I ask you, what are the American workingmen to do?"

At this same meeting Mr. Gompers took occasion to threaten members of Congress with the opposition of labor at the polls. He said: "I think we are going to be heard of in the next campaign, or this impending campaign. I do not think that you, gentlemen, are going to have it all your own way. I think you will hear from us, and perhaps you may again tell us that we have got Congressmen on the unfair list." But neither arguments nor threats had the slightest effect upon Congress. As always in the past, the demand of labor for remedial legislation was contemptuously ignored.

Why this attitude? Simply because it makes little difference to capitalism which one of its henchmen is elected to office. As long as labor confines its political activity voting for the candidates of capitalist parties capital-

ism is safe, and the mere fact that one candidate may be defeated and another one elected makes no difference in the general result. The working class will obtain no relief through defeating Republicans simply to elect Democrats or Independents in their stead. Yet this is the only sort of political action that has been proposed by the trade union leaders, and workingmen have been treated to the humiliating spectacle of Mr. Gompers, as the representative of labor, fresh from his decisive defeat before Congress, knocking at the doors of both the Republican and Democratic conventions and imploring first one and then the other to place in its platform an insincere promise to do what Congress has absolutely refused to do for fourteen years past, although the request has been continuously before it during all that time, and always supported by just such arguments and threats as those presented by Mr. Gompers at the last session of Congress.

Is it any wonder that capitalism treats labor with contempt and ignores its demands for relief?

A million votes for the Socialist Party will change this attitude of indifference and contempt to one of respect and consideration. Such a vote will mean that the capitalists no longer own the franchise of their wage slaves, and the edict will at once go forth that concessions must be made to labor in order that the menace of Socialism may be removed. The trade unionist who is really anxious to perform a service for labor will cast his vote for the Socialist Party. Such a vote will not be wasted; on the contrary, the Socialist Party vote next November is the only vote that will bring results, and the larger it is the more it will accomplish. The million votes that will surely be counted will force the demands of labor into prominence and compel their recognition, and just to the extent that the million is increased will emphasis be added to the determination of the working class to emancipate itself from the thralldom of wage slavery.

Future contests between the capitalist class and the working class will be waged upon the political as well as the industrial field. To a far greater extent than in the past will the battle be fought at the polls than through the medium of strikes, lockouts and boycotts, and every accession to the Socialist Party vote, demonstrating increased unity and power in the working class, will be followed by concessions from capitalism. It is a fight to the death between the two classes as to which shall dominate and control the functions and administration of government.

A million votes for the Socialist Party will indicate that the working class has arrived at such a stage of progress in its campaign for political power that all of the fake issues of capitalism must be abandoned, and a united front made against the one and only dominating and supreme issue that threatens the very existence of the capitalist system itself—SOCIALISM. The different warring wings of the capitalist political parties will get together and harmonize their differences. The conservatives and radicals will separate into different parties, but both will stand opposed to the menace of Socialism as typified by the rise of the Socialist Party and its bid for

power. The contest on the political field will therefore be between SOCIALISM and CAPITAL.

A million votes for the Socialist Party will bring hope and joy to Socialists throughout the world. It will nerve the arms of our comrades in the United States and give them courage and renewed strength to go forth and labor in the crusade for working class emancipation. It will solidify the movement and render it strong to resist oppression as well as aggressive to extend the bounds of its activity. It will mean the rise of Socialism as the dominant political force in the United States and the beginning of the end of capitalist rule. It will mean joy to the friends of labor; consternation and dismay to the enemies of the working class. A million votes for the Socialist Party will be a sure indication that the reign of capitalism is nearing its end, and that an era of justice, freedom and brotherly love is soon to dawn upon the world.

CHAPTER II.

MR. GOMPERS' MISTAKE.

By Max S. Hayes.

Capitalism controls the legislative, administrative and judicial branches of government.

It dictates prices to the consumers.

It defeats labor bills in congress.

It legalizes the blacklist.

It outlaws the boycott.

It crushes strikes with injunctions, military and police.

It fills trade unions with spies to destroy their effectiveness.

It enforces the "open shop" and places a premium on treason to the workers.

It pits female against male labor and the child against both.

These indictments will not be disputed, they cannot be; they are known to every person who has eyes to see and ears to hear and brain power to think.

Now what?

Political action?

Yes. It is the only means of escape left open.

But what kind of political action?

Shall it be a straight-out, manly fight through the Socialist party, the only party that is of the workers, by the workers and for the workers, and with which the trade unionists of all other countries in the world are affiliated?

Or shall it be a guerrilla warfare of "punish our enemies and reward our friends," a plan suggested by certain national union officials without consulting the membership, an undemocratic procedure to begin with?

Or shall it continue to be the same meek, docile party slavery that is responsible for the present crisis that confronts the working people, the same child-like hope that the master class in control will throw labor a few crumbs?

This latter dog-under-the-table policy need hardly be discussed. The willing, cowardly slave never receives any consideration and probably deserves none. As a general proposition the Republican and Democratic parties have promised the workers nothing tangible to lighten the burdens piled on by capitalism and the workers usually received just what was promised, and kicks and cuffs besides.

Only a few years ago conservative folk who now urge us to "punish our enemies and reward our friends" were vociferous in claiming that the Socialists were wrong and unsound and impossible in advocating political action through a party based on working class interests, and some even declared that the unions would

be able to accomplish through action on the industrial field what the Socialists aimed to do politically, viz.: gain economic emancipation for labor.

But the conservatives were wrong then and are wrong now. For years the working men have been voting for those whom they believed to be "friends," who made solemn promises before election only to forget them the day after the polls closed. There is no assurance that that old bunco game will not be continued. At best the "friends" may be friends in one instance and enemies in the next.

It has been quite the fashion in Congress and state legislatures to pass a labor bill through one branch and pigeon-hole it in the other. The Senate passes a bill to be chloroformed in a House committee and the House railroads a bill to be killed in the Senate and then the politicians in both branches go home and show that they were "friends" and voted for a labor bill or two, but the other fellows were the "enemies." Nor do the "friends" enlighten their constituents as to why they support many of the vicious corporation measures introduced.

However, more important by far than all else in this "punishing" and "rewarding" game is the danger of engendering internal controversies among the unions. Members who have been active in the Republican and Democratic parties insist that So-and-so is "our friend," others object and have their favorites, and bad feeling is aroused which proves injurious to the organization and makes foes of individual members. At the moment that I write I can enumerate half a dozen cities in which serious controversies have been aroused by Republican and Democratic factionalists, and graft charges are freely made.

"Divide and conquer" has ever been the motto of the tyrant, and it can be taken for granted that the open shop fanatics will not neglect the opportunity to employ their spies in the trade unions to cause as much trouble as possible in the hair-splitting game of picking out "friends" and "enemies." Some conservative union officials appear to forget that the very tactics that they now urge wrecked the old Knights of Labor, and that certain betrayers are now unashamed to parade their duplicity as political and industrial decoy ducks and will doubtless become particularly active this year in showing how both old parties are the "friends" of the people for their usual reward.

It is generally admitted that nothing can be expected from "Injunction Bill" Taft or the Republican party this year, while the Democracy, which has always been a hypocritical procurer for the G. O. P., is utterly discredited. Just one case in point:

John W. Kern, Democratic candidate for vice-president, chosen on Bryan's say-so, is a man who has bitterly assailed the anti-injunction advocates and declared that if he had his way "the labor leaders would receive no better treatment in Denver than they got in Chicago."

Bryan has been all things to all men—a radical one year, a liberal next year and a conservative today. He

avored free coinage and anti-injunction in 1896, opposed imperialism in 1900 and then supported Parker, who opposed free coinage and favored injunctions and imperialism in 1904. In 1906 Bryan championed government ownership of railways and repudiated the principle the next year and took up the initiative and referendum only to forget that principle this year. Nobody can trust him and labor least of all.

Both the Republicans and Democrats promise to "regulate" injunctions, just as they "regulate" trusts and "regulate" tariffs and other privileges of plutocracy. But none promise to **abolish** the evils of injunctions and their curses.

But even the regulation or abolition of injunctions would benefit labor very little at this late day. It might give labor a somewhat freer hand to strike and boycott, to hurl its empty stomach against capitalism's billions of wealth. Yet the instruments and methods of oppression referred to above would still remain in possession of the employing class and would be used more mercilessly than ever against labor.

The workers never can be free until they secede from the capitalistic parties, stand together solidly in the Socialist party, conquer the powers of **government** at the ballot box and make themselves masters of the injunction bludgeon, the policeman's club and militiaman's bayonet, and enact and interpret their own laws for their own class, just as the capitalists are doing today.

The Socialist platform is plain and clear; there is no double-dealing, no compromise in it. It rings true to working class interests in every sentence. The Socialist party nominees require no introduction, no endorsement from labor officials.

They are labor men, union men, men who have fought the good fight with you and me, men in every sense of the word, every inch of them.

Even if they don't win the election in November, still the vote that they will poll, and it is acknowledged by astute politicians that the vote may prove a surprise, will be a tremendous moral victory.

When the Socialist party polled 400,000 votes four years ago official Washington and financial New York were dumbfounded. The vote was the subject of earnest discussion in cloak rooms and exclusive clubs, because the far-seeing politicians and plutocrats believed it presaged an early political revolt.

And what would not a million votes signify to capitalism and its politicians this year?

A million Socialist votes would mean the striking of a blow that would be heard around the world.

A million Socialist votes would throw the fear of God into the hearts of every plutocratic tyrant and trust oppressor in the United States.

A million Socialist votes would cause the old dry bones at Washington to rattle as they have not rattled since the election of Lincoln.

A million Socialist votes would start the wheels of Congress and state legislatures revolving to grind out

concessions in fear and dread that two millions might follow at the next election.

A million Socialist votes would sound as the thunderous roar of an awakening working class to the ears of the Parrys and Posts and Van Cleaves and compel them to scurry for cover to avoid retributive lightning.

A million Socialist votes would blanch the cheeks of every Pinkerton thug and Hessian hireling and pronounce the doom of the strike-breaking industry.

A million Socialist votes would make the working class conscious of its own strength and virility, and would send the sunshine of hope into every hovel and sweating hell in the land.

A million Socialist votes would sound the tocsin that the working class had repudiated the Pharaoh of capitalism and was preparing to march into the promised land of the co-operative commonwealth, where there will be no economic injustice, suffering and sorrow, but where equal rights and opportunities will be the order and the brotherhood of man practically applied.

Every working man who has heretofore voted with the old parties should study the present economic conditions, his party principles and leaders, and the probable developments of the future before he decides definitely how to vote this year.

Unfortunately labor has "thrown away" its vote too long and is now reaping the consequences. But lost ground can yet be recovered, although in no other manner than by rolling up at least a million votes for Debs and Hanford.

CHAPTER III.

INJUNCTION BILL TAFT.

It was a wise man who said: "Let who will make the laws of the country if I can only write its songs."

Judge Taft has made this maxim the statement of a child. It was left for him to say, "let who will make the labor laws of the country if I can only issue the injunctions."

Under this inspiration Judge Taft for the first time in America took the Sherman anti-trust law, made for the protection of farmers and working men, and turned it into an engine of oppression against labor. How this was done can be seen by consulting the case of the Toledo and Ann Arbor Railroad against the Pennsylvania Railroad and others in the Fifty-fourth Federal Reporter, page 730.

It was in 1893 that the engineers of the Toledo and Ann Arbor Railroad called a strike to protect themselves against a cut in wages. Arthur was then the head of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. In 1893 P. M. Arthur was a dangerous man; dangerous then to capital, as later he was called dangerous to labor, which shows that the cause of progress does not stand still.

Arthur gave his consent to the strike and the battle commenced. Of course all of the comfortable and smug in the railroad offices, as well as their servants on the bench, believe that a strike is inspired by malice and hatred and is only a holiday for workingmen. Only the toiler and the student know that it means want and gaunt famine, suffering, danger and abuse. Only the toiler and student know this, and these are not found in the railroad offices or on the bench.

When the strike was called the men let go the throttle, got off their engines, gave up the pay car and went home to wait—to wait to find which came first, the surrender of the railroad or the gaunt specter of want. The days passed by and the company began to run its trains with scabs—men who turn their backs upon their class and join the enemy in times of war. By this means the railroad began to move its trains and deliver freight. At its terminal points the road switched its loaded cars of freight or other lines engaged in the sacred business of "Interstate Commerce" and these roads hauled them away to help the owners of the Toledo & Ann Arbor to get the sinews of war to carry on the fight against its men.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, 35,000 strong and driving the engines on every road in the United States, had adopted a rule, "No. 12," which provided that "after a strike had been sanctioned by the Grand Master that it should be a violation of their obligation for any member of the Brotherhood to handle the cars of any road where the employes were on a strike."

The Toledo & Ann Arbor delivered its cars to the L. S. and M. S., the Pennsylvania and other companies and the engineers refused to handle the cars; that is, they refused to help the Toledo & Ann Arbor road starve their brothers who were in a criminal conspiracy to resist a cut.

Thereupon a corporation lawyer sought out Judge William H. Taft. He served no notice on the men; he went to the Judge's chamber alone, and in secret Judge Taft issued an order requiring Chief Arthur to rescind "Rule No. 12" and set his men to work to haul the cars of the Toledo & Ann Arbor and help the enemy in their fight against their brothers.

A strike is very like a battle—it is a battle—TIME is everything. Its success or failure does not depend on what happens next month, but on what happens today. Next month the strikers may be starved to death, or the press may have bludgeoned them into submission, but the NOW is all important. Had Judge Taft been present at the battle of Waterloo and been on the side of Napoleon and had he issued a temporary injunction against Blucher coming up for twelve hours, until there was time to give notice of a hearing, then Napoleon would have won and the map of the world been changed.

Of course Arthur and his men obeyed the injunction and handled the cars on the connecting lines. A few weeks later the case was argued. Judge Taft said many kind words about labor organizations, as Judges always do. He generously stated that they were all right in their place, but he forcibly indicated that he thought their place was in the jail.

In his opinion he said that he really wished them well, just as the Judge who sentences the prisoner to death always adds: "May God have mercy on your soul."

After saying that Labor Unions were all right he held that "Rule No. 12" made every one of the 35,000 men guilty of criminal conspiracy and would subject them (except for mercy) to imprisonment in the penitentiary. After this he made the injunction perpetual and the strike was over and the Toledo & Ann Arbor had no further trouble to reduce wages to their hearts' content.

It was almost a year before Judge Taft had another chance to show his love for workingmen. Every one remembers the great Pullman strike of 1894. The Pullman company was poor and wages must be cut. The men struck—struck to hold what they had. The days and weeks and months dragged on. The men were in rags and the gaunt faces of women and children were beginning to plead for the Pullman company and urge the men to take whatever crust they might get and go to work. The men were idle and hungry, as so many are today. The question was asked of Taft then, as a few months ago, "What shall a man do when he is hungry and has no work?" He did not answer them, "God knows." In those days he knew what was good for an idle man—"an injunction."

The workmen of Pullman were losing the strike; they had no money in the bank and no income for their support. Every palace car that rolled across the country,

with its colored porter asking alms, was pouring cash into the Pullman coffers to fight with famine against the Pullman poor.

Then the American Railway Union held its convention in Chicago. It was a splendid lot of men from all branches of railroad work—all except the officers. All branches of the service where men daily risked their lives and limbs to carry safely the rich who ride in Pullman cars. At the head of these men was Eugene V. Debs.

A committee of Pullman strikers was there to tell of their grievances against the company and of the sad plight of their wives and babes. The delegates of the A. R. U. were not complaining of any wrong to themselves or others, but when they heard the tale of the Pullman workmen they resolved that they would surrender their jobs rather than haul another Pullman car while their brothers were on a strike.

The whole world knows the story of the brave struggle of the A. R. U. in a cause not their own. The whole world knows of their bitter defeat. When the word went forth the whole organization as one man laid down its tools.

Business was paralyzed. Every industrial center was in despair. It was war—war between the employers and the employed. One of the great battles in the industrial warfare as old as the cupidity and resistance of men.

An Irishman named Phalen was one of the directors of the A. R. U. He was sent from Portland, Oregon, to take charge of the strike in Cincinnati. He made speeches, telling of the grievances of the Pullman men and urging all workmen to refuse to handle Pullman cars. The Cincinnati workmen left their jobs; the cars stood still. Once more the private door of Judge Taft was opened and a railroad lawyer entered. No one was there on the other side. In his private chambers he issued an order against Phalen and others, forbidding them to further urge men to give up their jobs.

In the meantime in Chicago and other places, other federal judges were joining in the fight against the Pullman workmen and the A. R. U. The Taft injunction was issued; in the course of time it came on for hearing to determine whether it was rightfully issued and should remain in force and whether Phalen, not a serf, but an independent man, had violated the COMMAND of the judge.

Once more Judge Taft announced a long opinion almost as ponderous as himself. Once more he told how he loved the working men—loved them, verily loved them—as a wolf loves mutton. Once more he said that labor unions were all right in the right place. Once more he said that labor leaders were all right in their right place, but their right place was the jail. Once more he announced the doctrine that for one man to quit was legal, but for all to quit for the purpose of injuring their employer was a crime. Once more he quoted English laws and the precedents, showing it criminal for men to combine and demand higher wages and threaten a strike or boycott if their demands should be refused. Clearly and

explicitly he pointed out that it was a crime for one organization to strike for the benefit of another. There might be some excuse for a man to risk his life to help himself but none if one risks his life to help his brother or his friend. No corporation lawyer or judge had ever heard of such a thing as a man risking something for some one else.

Phalen was sent six month to jail from Cincinnati as was Debs from Chicago. No jury found him guilty, Judge Taft found him guilty—guilty of violating an order issued behind his back; guilty because he tried to help the Pullman working men.

Phalen served his term in jail. He is now dead and Candidate Taft says that after he served his term, Phalen came to him and acknowledged that Taft was right. Over and over again in Taft's opinion he stated that Phalen was a liar and unworthy of belief but he seems now to credit a statement, which none of Phalen's friends, or fellows, ever heard, from him or any other source, until after he had been laid away in his grave, and Taft had started on his mad race for the White House.

Has Judge Taft changed? Does he no longer believe in the doctrine which was mainly formed in his brain—government by injunction? Does he still love the working man in his old time way, and will the working man believe in his repentance and deliver him their vote? "God knows."

CHAPTER IV.

HEARST'S FLY PAPER PLATFORM.

By Victor L. Berger.

The new Independence party held its first national convention in Chicago this week. The Chicago Tribune pays it the doubtful compliment that it looked "like a real convention." We all know how the real conventions of the old parties look. At any rate the Independence party has adopted a national platform and has nominated a national ticket.

However, I do not believe that it looked like a "real" capitalist convention at all. The substantial solid citizens of the various states, who make up the Republican party, were, no doubt, absent. And the type of the Democratic politicians, as led by Charles Murphy and Roger Sullivan and Dave Rose—with their bands and banners and booze—were also absent.

William R Hearst is a sort of sphinx in American politics.

Very few men have a good word for him.

The Republicans hate him as the "yellow" disturber and half-Socialist—something which, by the way, he very violently disclaims.

The Democrats hate him as an unmerciful exposé of some of their crookedness and as a destroyer of Tammany Hall.

The Socialists attack him because many think that by his demagogical issues and half-baked reforms, he keeps well-meaning men from joining the Socialist party. That he therefore interferes with the rightful growth of our party.

Republicans and Democrats and Socialists seems to agree that Hearst is insincere, selfish and dangerous.

But I am accustomed to look at things with a different eye and examine political phenomena in a different way.

Now, there can be no doubt that Hearst is very ambitious and egotistic. He cares very little or nothing for the opinions that other people have about him.

However, we Socialists have no right to doubt the honesty of every man who is not with us. Hearst is a multi-millionaire, and, unless he should be a Socialist from philanthropic motives, there is absolutely no reason for him to become a Socialist.

But not every man who is not a Socialist is dishonest. Nor is the possession of a Socialist membership card in itself a guarantee of honesty, unless its owner is also imbued with a true Socialist spirit, which, I am glad to say, is still the case nowadays with the overwhelming majority of the Socialists.

And political phenomena are not a question of persons—or rather persons are only a secondary consideration.

exp. To judge the Hearst movement aright we must examine what it stands for.

The two old parties, no doubt, stand for the preservation of the capitalist system and for capitalism.

So does Hearst.

What makes the old parties important to us is the fact that they represent great power. In 1904 the Republicans carried thirty-three states, the Democrats twelve. So, of course, both parties have to be reckoned with.

In 1900 the Hearst party did not exist. And the only way that he can make out any reason for its existence is that he is willing for the Independence party to make concessions to various classes which the two old parties will not make.

And the platform of the Independence party is a platform of concessions.

It is trying to catch them all.

It promises to help the middle class, to pacify the laboring class, and with all that—not to hurt capitalism.

It demands "economy in the conduct of public offices." It condemns the evil of over-capitalization and demands its regulation by county, state and national legislation. It wants revision of the tariff. It demands the physical valuation of railroads. It denounces all combinations in restraint to trade. It is favorable to the enactment of laws that provide for the imprisonment of individuals who are responsible for trusts. It demands government ownership of railroads and telegraph companies and the parcels post. Moreover, it wants to suppress bucket shops and prevent fictitious dealing in farm products. And it favors a bigger navy and the popular election of United States senators and judges and a graduated income tax.

So much for the middle class.

The close observer will notice that some of these demands will not find favor with the entire middle class. For instance, the parcels post, while it may be liked by the farmers, is sure to be opposed by a large class of country storekeepers. The trust-killing is very prominent in the platform and is nonsense, of course. The bigger navy is calculated to appeal to the shooting patriotism of the readers of the Hearst papers.

However, the workingmen also get quite a few sops—some of them taken from the Socialist platform; namely, the initiative and referendum and the right of recall, the opposition to child labor and the eight-hour day law.

Of course, Hearst easily outdoes both the Democratic and Republican platforms on the injunction question. He denounces the labor clauses in the Democratic and Republican platforms as clap-trap and buncombe and demands that no injunction be issued without notice and hearing, and that all contempt of court cases are to be tried by jury.

Then there are also some general planks, as for instance, a demand for the development of natural resources, and for legislation to remedy corrupt practices at elections and also that a court shall review the arbitrary rulings of the postoffice department.

And all these reforms would not hurt capitalism in the least. That is the beauty of it.

In short, the platform wants to satisfy all sorts and conditions of men. It virtually sets out to catch everybody, which, considering the fact that parties are simply the political expression of economic conditions, is, of course, impossible and ridiculous. And what is worse—it conveys a glaring impression of insincerity.

And therefore the characterization of the old party in the address of William Randolph Hearst at the opening of the convention was probably the best part of the whole business.

Said Mr. Hearst:

"The old parties, in this day of their decadence, have become unfaithful to the principles which inspired them, and unworthy of the patriots who founded them.

"The Republican party is the open and avowed handmaiden of the trusts.

"It scorns those who would rescue it, repudiates those who would reform it and glories brazenly in its profitable infamy.

"The Democratic party is merely envious of its sordid sister's illgotten finery. It upbraids her at one election and imitates her the next.

"The Republican leaders are the political attorneys of trusts and monopolies, the representatives in public life of those giant corporations which have superseded the people in this republic as the source of power and the seat of authority.

"The Democratic vanguard is a Falstaff's army. It is led by a knight arrayed in a motley of modified professions and compromised principles, of altered opinions and retracted statements. It is officered by such soldiers of fortune as Sullivan and Hopkins, and Murphy and McClellan, by Tom Taggart, the roulette gambler, and Tom Ryan, the Wall Street gambler, and Belmont, the race track gambler. It is composed of such political mercenaries as Bailey of the Standard Oil and Williams of the Southern Railway; and Hinky Dink and Bath House John, and Red Duffy and Nigger Mike—all harmonized at last and all marching together in a rhythmic cadence strongly suggestive of the lockstep.

"A Falstaff's army whose banner bears on one side a watchword for the people and on the other a password for the trusts, whose only object is office at any cost, whose motto, 'After Us the Deluge.'

"Assuming that Mr. Bryan himself is all that his most ardent admirers claim him to be, a great lawyer, an enlightened statesman, an inspired patriot, still a man is known by the company he keeps, and no decent Democrat can tolerate his free companions.

"No honest citizen can let down the bars of office to such an Ali Baba's band of boodlers and bravos.

"No prudent citizen will support a combination to which Taggart supplies a candidate and Parker a platform, for which Ryan will pay the freight and the people will pay the penalty.

"Back of both parties and underwriting each are those Captain Kidds of Industry, those highwaymen of high finance, who realize that to plunder safely the people's purse they must first possess the people's government."

Great, is it not?

Some of the Chicago papers are uncharitable enough to claim that Hearst's brilliant Socialistic adjutant, Arthur Brisbane, penned this part of the speech, if not the whole of it. However, this would not take away any of its value. Besides, I personally believe that Hearst has very much more ability than he is generally given credit for.

Hearst, as a man, is very much underrated, indeed.

In fact, the whole Independence party is but a one-man party—and practically owned by Hearst.

And that is its fatal weakness.

The Independence party—having no economic basis and no well defined set of principles—naturally has to make up its platforms by cribbing some Socialist ideas and grabbing as much of the rejected timber of the other platforms as the present drift of public opinion will permit.

As a matter of fact, the Hearst party has no excuse or reason for existence.

So it is only natural that Hearst's men, whenever elected—as for instance the Independence League aldermen of New York who were elected by the protest vote against the insurance graft—have shown themselves as big thieves and as purchasable a lot of grafters as the Tammany men.

Why should they be any better?

And consequently Hearst has few followers except soldiers of fortune, who, if they had lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy, would be condottieri. They are men who hope to advance their own fortunes by following this modern Pforza or Visconti.

Many of them were former Tammany men. Others are cast-off Republicans. There is no moral nor ethical element in the Independence party to give them a new idea of public life.

The first thing a Socialist gets through the Socialist movement is a new view of things—a new social conscience. What does the Independence party give them?

It is easy to predict that the Independence party would be a great failure ethically.

I say it would be—because it never will be. It will never grow up to be anything great—not even a great failure.

Where is it to draw any strength from?

Hearst will not draw any strength away from the Republicans, because the Republicans are just the crowd who want to let well enough alone—who are satisfied with the trusts, the injunctions, the tariff, and a good many other things. Or who, at the best, swear by Roosevelt and Taft and LaFollette and their "reforms." They would sooner go to Bryan than to Hearst.

Neither is the Independence party going to hurt Bryan very much. The average Bryanite is either a Democratic grafter who wants office and does "not want to throw his vote away," or an old line Northern or Southern "Democrat" with a capital D, who votes for Bryan, or for Parker if he is on the Democratic ticket. The noise about the great "commoner" is made by the old ex-Populists, who joined the Democratic party in 1896 for pelf and want the

world to believe that they did it for virtue. Unless Hearst buys them Hearst cannot get them.

And the Independence party will surely not get any Socialist votes at all. The Socialists have a well-defined philosophy. They know Socialism is the outcome of the capitalist system and that Socialism must surely follow capitalism if we are not to retrograde into barbarism. The Socialist is the only party that can explain the present industrial crisis and reap the benefit of this explanation. We know history and economics. We see the trend of the economic development and why a man must vote the Socialist ticket in order to bring about a peaceable revolution. And why any other road can only lead to violent upheavals and cataclysms.

A Socialist voter understands that a vote for Hearst's party is thrown away not only because that candidate cannot be elected, but because even as a protest one vote for Debs is worth more than one thousand votes for the Hearst man.

So the Independence party is not going to do much harm to any existing party.

The only crowd that will find itself in a dilemma is—Sam Gompers and his Consecutive Council. Hearst has shown up the anti-injunction clap-trap of both the old parties in great shape. And Hearst's party is the only capitalist party which has a real anti-injunction plank. And yet Sammy and his perpetual council are trying to drive their sheep into the Democratic pen, there to be slaughtered. Sam Gompers was originally a Dutchman—but if that does not beat the Dutch, then I am missing my guess.

The philosophy of the whole affair? Vote the Socialist ticket and vote it straight.

CHAPTER V.

THE MISERY OF BOOTS.

By H. G. Wells.

Here on the one hand—you can see for yourself in any unfashionable part of Great Britain—are people badly, uncomfortably, painfully shod, in old boots, rotten boots, sham boots; and on the other great stretches of land in the world, with unlimited possibilities of cattle and leather and great numbers of people, who, either through wealth or trade disorder, are doing no work. And our question is: "Why cannot the latter set to work and make and distribute boots?"

Imagine yourself trying to organize something of this kind of Free Booting expedition; and consider the difficulties you would meet with. You would begin by looking for a lot of leather. Imagine yourself setting off to South Africa, for example, to get leather; beginning at the very beginning by setting to work to kill and flay a herd of cattle. You find at once you are interrupted. Along comes your first obstacle in the shape of a man who tells you the cattle and the leather belong to him. You explain that the leather is wanted for people who have no decent shoes in England. He says he does not care a rap what you want it for; before you may take it from him you have to buy him off; it is his private property, this leather, and the herd and the land over which the herd ranges. You ask him how much he wants for his leather; and he tells you frankly, just as much as he can induce you to give.

If he chanced to be a person of exceptional sweetness of disposition, you might perhaps argue with him. You might point out to him that this project of giving people splendid boots was a fine one that would put an end to much human misery. He might even sympathize with your generous enthusiasm; but you would, I think, find him adamant in his resolve to get just as much out of you for his leather as you could with the utmost effort pay.

Suppose now you said to him: "But how did you come by this land and these herds, so that you can stand between them and the people who have need of them, exacting this profit?" He would probably either embark upon a long rigmarole, or, what is much more probable, lose his temper and decline to argue. Pursuing your doubt as to the rightfulness of his property in these things, you might admit he deserved a certain reasonable fee for the rough care he had taken of the land and herds. But cattle breeders are a rude, violent race; and it is doubtful if you would get far beyond your proposition of a reasonable fee. You would, in fact, have to buy off this owner of the leather at a good, thumping price—

he exacting just as much as he could get from you—if you wanted to go on with your project.

Well, then you would have to get your leather here; and, to do that, you would have to bring it by railway and ship to this country. And here again you would find people without any desire or intention of helping your project, standing in your course, resolved to make every possible penny out of you on your way to provide sound boots for everyone. You would find the railway was private property, and had an owner or owners; you would find the ship was private property, with an owner or owners; and that none of these would be satisfied for a moment with a mere fee adequate to their services. They, too, would be resolved to make every penny of profit out of you. If you made inquiries about the matter, you would probably find the real owners of railway and ship were companies of shareholders, and that the profit squeezed out of your poor people's boots at this stage went to fill the pockets of old ladies at Torquay, spendthrifts in Paris, well-booted gentlemen in London clubs, all sorts of glossy people.

Well, you get the leather to England at last; and now you want to make it into boots. You take it to a center of population, invite workers to come to you, erect sheds and machinery upon a vacant piece of ground, and start off in a sort of fury of generous industry, boot-making. . . . Do you? There comes along an owner for that vacant piece of ground, declares it is his property, demands an enormous sum for rent. And your workers all round you, you find, cannot get house room until they, too, have paid rent—every inch of the country is somebody's property, and a man may not shut his eyes for an hour without the consent of some owner or other. And the food your shoe-makers eat, the clothes they wear, have all paid tribute and profit to land owners, cart-owners, house owners, endless tribute over and above the fair pay for work that has been done upon them.

So one might go on. But you begin to see now one set of reasons at least why every one has not good, comfortable boots. There could be plenty of leather; and there is certainly plenty of labor and quite enough intelligence in the world to manage that and a thousand other desirable things. But this institution of Private Property in land and naturally produced things, these obstructive claims that prevent you using ground, or moving material, and that have to be bought out at exorbitant prices, stand in the way. All these owners hang like parasites upon your enterprise at its every stage; and, by the time you get your sound boots well made in England, you will find them costing about a pound a pair—high out of the reach of the general mass of people. And you will perhaps not think me fanciful and extravagant when I confess that when I realize this, and look at poor people's boots in the street, and see them cracked and misshapen and altogether nasty, I seem to see also a lot of little phantom land owners, cattle owners, house owners, owners of all sorts, swarming over their pinched and weary feet like leeches, taking much and giving nothing, and being the real cause of all such miseries.

Now is this a necessary and unavoidable thing?—that is our question. Is there no other way of **managing** things than to let these property owners exact their claims, and squeeze comfort, pride, happiness, out of the lives of the common run of people? Because, of course, it is not only the boots they squeeze into meanness and badness. It is the claim and profit of the land owner and house owner that makes our houses so ugly, shabby, and dear; that make our roadways and railways so crowded and inconvenient; that sweat our schools, our clothing, our food—boots we took merely by way of one example of a universal trouble.

Well, there are a number of people who say there is a better way, and that the world could be made infinitely better in all these matters, made happier and better than it ever has been in these respects, by refusing to have private property in all these universally necessary things. They say that it is possible to have the land administered and such common and needful things as leather produced, and boots manufactured, and no end of other such generally necessary services carried on, not for the private profit of individuals, but for the good of all. They propose that the State should take away the land, and the railways, and shipping, and many great organized enterprises from their owners, who use them simply to squeeze the means for a wasteful private expenditure out of the common mass of men, and should administer all these things, generously and boldly, not for profit, but for service. It is this idea of extracting Profit they hold which is the very root of the evil. These are the Socialists; and they are the only people who do hold out any hope of far-reaching change that will alter the present dingy state of affairs, of which this painful wretchedness of boots is only one typical symbol.

Socialism Means Revolution.

Let us be clear about one thing: that Socialism means revolution; that it means a change in the every-day texture of life. It may be a very gradual change, but it will be a very complete one. You cannot change the world and at the same time not change the world. You will find Socialists about, or at any rate men calling themselves Socialists, who will pretend that this is not so, who will assure you that some odd little jobbing about municipal gas and water is Socialism, and back stairs intervention between Conservative and Liberal the way to the millennium. You might as well call a gas jet in the lobby of a meeting house the glory of God in heaven!

Socialism aims to change, not only the boots on people's feet, but the clothing they wear, the houses they inhabit, the work they do, the education they get, their places, their honors, and all their possessions. Socialism aims to make a new world out of the old. It can only be attained by the intelligent, outspoken, courageous resolve of a great multitude of men and women. You must get absolutely clear in your mind that Socialism means a complete change, a break with history, with much that is picturesque; whole classes will vanish. The world

will be vastly different, with a different sort of houses, different sorts of people. All the different trades and industries will be changed, the medical profession will be carried on under different conditions, engineering, science, the theatrical trade, the clerical trade, schools, hotels, almost every trade, will have to undergo as complete an internal change as a caterpillar does when it becomes a moth. If you are afraid of so much change as that, it is better you should funk about it now than later. The whole system has to be changed, if we are to get rid of the masses of dull poverty that render our present state detestable to any sensitive man or woman. That, and no less, is the aim of all sincere Socialists: the establishment of a new and better order of society by the abolition of private property in land, in natural productions, and in their exploitation—a change as profound as the abolition of private property in slaves would have been in ancient Rome or Athens. If you demand less than that, if you are not prepared to struggle for that, you are not really a Socialist.

It is well to insist upon one central idea. Socialism is a common-sense matter-of-fact proposal to change our conventional admission of what is or is not property, and to rearrange the world according to these revised conceptions. A certain number of clever people, dissatisfied with the straightforwardness of this, have set themselves to put it in some brilliant obscure way; they will tell you that Socialism is based on the philosophy of Hegel, or that it turns on a theory of Rent, or that it is somehow muddled up with a sort of white Bogey called the Overman, and all sorts of brilliant, nonsensical, unappetizing things. The theory of Socialism, so far as English people are concerned, seems to have got up into the clouds, and its practice down into the drains; and it is well to warn inquiring men, that neither the epigram above nor the job beneath are more than the accidental accompaniments of Socialism. Socialism is a very large, but a plain, honest, and human enterprise; its ends are to be obtained neither by wit nor cunning, but by outspoken resolve, by the self-abnegation, the enthusiasm, and the loyal co-operation of great masses of people.

The main thing, therefore, is the creation of these great masses of people out of the intellectual confusion and vagueness of the present time. Let me suppose that you find yourself in sympathy with this tract, that you find the shabby dulness, the positive misery of a large proportion of the population of our world, make life under its present conditions almost intolerable, and that it is in the direction of Socialism that the only hope of a permanent remedy lies. What are we to do? Obviously to give our best energies to making other people Socialists, irrespective of class or the minor details of creed, and to making ourselves audible, visible, effectual as Socialists, wherever and whenever we can.

We have to think about Socialism, read about it, discuss it; so that we may be assured and clear and persuasive about it. We have to confess our faith openly and frequently. We must refuse to be called Liberal or

Conservative, Republican or Democrat, or any of those ambiguous things. Everywhere we must make or join a Socialist organization, a club or association, or what not, so that we may "count." For us, as for the early Christians, preaching our gospel is the supreme duty. Until Socialists can be counted, and counted upon by the million, little will be done. When they are—a new world will be ours.

Above all, if I may offer advice to a fellow-Socialist, I would say: Cling to the simple, essential idea of Socialism, which is the abolition of private property in anything but what a man has earned or made. Do not complicate your cause with elaborations. And keep in your mind, if you can, some sort of talisman to bring you back to that essential gospel, out of the confusions and warring suggestions of every-day discussion.

For my own part, I have a prepossession with boots; and my talisman is this:—The figure of a badly fed but rather pretty little girl of ten or eleven, dirty, and her hands coarse with rough usage, her poor, pretty child's body in ungainly rags, and, on her feet, big, broken-down boots that hurt her. And particularly I think of her wretched sticks of legs and the limp of her feet; and all those phantom owners and profit takers I spoke of, they are there about her martyrdom, leech-like, clinging to her as she goes.

I want to change everything in the world that made that; and I do not greatly care what has to go in the process. Do you?

CHAPTER VI.

"THE OPEN SHOP."

(From a pamphlet by Clarence S. Darrow.)

Under the present system of industrial life there is bound to be employers and employed. It matters not if here and there some one rises from the ranks of the workmen and becomes an employer or even if some less fortunate man falls from the master class to the laboring class, the system goes on without the least regard to men, and this system calls for employer and employed. The wage system has existed ever since serfdom and is so much a part of industrial life that most people do not conceive that society could live without it.

However men may dislike the use of the word class, which is only a little bit removed from caste, still so long as the wage system lives there must be an employing class and a laboring class. The one has the land, the mines, the forests, the railroads, the factories and mills—in short, all the means and tools of production; and the other has the labor, which must be applied to these implements to produce wealth. Again, in the evolution of society the workman, at least in America, is getting further and further removed from the tools of his trade. Improved methods and machines constantly call for larger production and more expensive tools. The old-time artisan is well nigh gone; neither he nor his tools would have any place in the industry of today. More and more is all production passing into larger hands, which, of course, means fewer hands. The relative number of employers is growing less, and of workmen growing greater. If it should be conceded that any considerable number of laborers, by frugality and industry, by intelligence and luck, could place themselves in the employing class this could not change the order of the world. To operate a railroad or a rolling mill requires a large number of laborers. If one dies or grows rich another must take his place.

Capital, in its effort to multiply itself, constantly invents new methods of production, new tools and implements, and is ever busy in systematizing and organizing its activities to produce the greatest amount from the smallest expenditure of time and strength. Thus the mileage of railroads under one management is ever lengthening, mills and factories and department stores ever growing larger, and a constantly increasing number of workmen are placed under one supervision and one head. It is not necessary to speculate as to whether monopoly is wise or best. The fact is that the growth of monopoly is inherent in our present industrial system, and all efforts to hamper it by passing laws or bringing criminal proceedings are not only useless to accomplish the result desired, but are meddlesome and mischievous

in the extreme. In all the activities of man some account must be made of natural law, and any method that flies directly in its face is bound to fail. Under present methods there is economy in production on a large scale, and so long as this is true laws and public opinion alike will be helpless to prevent the tendency to big things in the industrial world.

The masters of finance have always condemned every effort of courts and law-makers to destroy monopoly, and have ever stoutly held that they should be left unhampered to organize and consolidate at will. If this method is pursued to the end it would mean the ultimate organization of all industry under a single head. And if there is economy in big things there is no reason why the end will not some time be reached. In fact, the growth of organization and monopoly in the last few years makes this end much more real than a dream.

It is evident that the employing class has a much greater degree of liberty and independence than the working class. Not only this, but they have much the greater and better directed energy and power. The employing class, from the nature of things, has an accumulated surplus on hand and can afford to wait. Though machines and railroads lie idle and no profits are earned, still the owners of capital are safe from want or serious inconvenience for an indefinite time. But the workman's case is not the same. The very fact that he is a laborer, selling his energy and skill from day to day, shows that he cannot wait. Not only does he lose his capital, but in the shortest time want and hunger overtake him and force his surrender. Add to his own inconvenience the suffering of his family and there are always but a few days between the workman and absolute capitulation to the employer. Assume that a considerable number of workmen are far removed from want, still the great mass are always on the verge, and in any protracted struggle the employment of those who can afford to wait is always threatened by the ones who can not. Every workman is almost directly dependent on his employer. If one of the operators of the Western Union Telegraph Company refuses to work it is a matter of no consequence to the company, but if the Western Union refuses employment it is of very serious concern to him.

Capital buys coal, and ore, and lumber, and labor, and any other raw material that it needs. So far as the capitalist is concerned, labor is as much a commodity to be purchased in the open market as any other product that he buys. Thus it is that the tendency is ever to buy the cheapest labor that will fulfill the market's needs. With the increasing use of machinery the movement toward cheaper labor becomes easier as time goes on. The skilled workman can be replaced with the feeder of a machine. The intelligent laborer with the ignorant. The American with the latest imported foreigner; the European with the Asiatic. The man with the woman, and the woman with the child. Barring periods of great industrial activity and the interference of laws and trade

union regulations, this movement has been growing with ever increasing force through the industrial development of the United States. Statistics show how rapidly women are made to supplant men and children to take the places of women in all industries where improved machinery makes the weaker class of labor available for the production of goods for market.

Not only this, but the cheaper and more helpless the labor the easier has it been for the employer to demand the hardest condition of toil. Here again the fault is not with the master, but with the market that is all-controlling. But the ignorant and weak, the foreign-born coming from the lower standard of life and ignorant of our language, and the helpless women and little children will readily submit to the hardest terms; long hours, dangerous tools, insanitary conditions. In short, any employment that puts off starvation.

Through all the ages the working class has clung to their unions; have supported them, and built them up in the face of the most powerful influences of society; in the face of legislatures and courts; in spite of starvation, of jails and scaffolds, they have clung to them in good repute and bad as the one thing that stood between them and the serfdom from which they came. And just as persistently the employing class from the beginning until today have sought by every means at their command—public opinion, the press, legislatures, courts and jails, to destroy these organizations of working men.

Employers have ever regarded labor unions as hostile to their rights; they have so regarded them because it has been the business of organized workmen to get shorter hours, better conditions, safer tools, and a larger share of production than the workman individually could obtain.

Capital has ever resented the interference of organized labor with what it calls its rights; that is, the complete and arbitrary control of all industries to suit its will. Capital can never understand that labor should have any voice in managing the industrial institutions of the land; it cannot realize that the man who works in a mill or on a railroad is as vitally interested in its management and should at least have as much to say about hours, conditions, and terms of labor as the one who has nothing but money invested in the plant. True it is that under the present conditions of production the capitalist has the title to the plant and can shut it down if he sees fit. But it is just as true that laborers, either singly or collectively, may refuse to take employment except on such terms and conditions as they choose.

Under present industrial methods it is not merely a question of whether a workman can make better terms through his union by collective bargaining. It is the only way in which he can make any terms whatever; without the union the workman has nothing at all to say about his wages, or his hours, or any of the terms and conditions of the employment he takes. Imagine the solitary brakeman on a great railroad system going to his foreman and disputing about the price of service or the

hours of service. Imagine one track man, by this system of bargaining, getting any more for himself than is paid to all the rest. Without collective bargaining the employer fixes the rate of wages, and all the terms and conditions of his contract, and the individual workman may take it or leave it alone, as he sees fit. If he refuses the employment the place is left open until some one more needy than himself shall be found to fill it.

Trade unionism has grown so old and strong and has been so much patronized by surface thinkers, as well as by that large class who always seek the easiest way, no matter how indirect, that the opposition is not now so much directed against the union as against every thing it does. Most people are now willing that workmen shall be organized, provided they do nothing but pass resolutions and pay dues.

The fight waged against unionism today is no less bitter than it was fifty years ago. It is simply directed along other lines. Now, as always, both with trade unionism and every idea and institution that points to a different method than the one the world has known so long, the new idea is sought to be placed in the wrong, to be against the law and existing things, and utterly without reason or excuse.

Just now the popular line of opposition against unionism is made in the violent demand for the open shop. This contention is supported by all sorts of statements and arguments, mostly false in premises and hysterical in their nature. The reasons that have always prompted unionists to demand the closed shop have been entirely ignored and their arguments made to turn on something else.

So long and vociferously have the enemies of trade unions declared for the open shop that no doubt many of them really believe that they are fighting for some principle of liberty and justice and not to serve their selfish ends. Mainly their arguments consist in various statements of the assumption that every man has an inalienable right to work when he pleases, for what wages he pleases, and for whom he pleases. The word "inalienable" sounds well, for it is taken from the Declaration of Independence, but it has no meaning in this connection. An "inalienable" right is one which cannot be taken away, and it is obvious that under present conditions no such right exists. In fact, it is stoutly contended for by the very men who have taken away every opportunity that would give a laborer a right or chance to work.

Man cannot labor without an opportunity to apply his hands to some of the bounties of nature, to some material from which things are made, and still the inalienable right to work is insisted upon by those who have taken all the coal, and ore, and lumber; who control all the factories and railroads, all the land, and every means to which man might apply his toil. There can be no inalienable right to work without a place to work, and neither the government nor those who declaim the loudest or insist the most, have ever furnished the laborer a place to toil.

To this class the inalienable right to work means simply the inalienable right of the employer, without let or hindrance, to go out in the open market and bid for laborers on the hardest terms, or, rather, to so order the industrial world that all men and women and children must bid against each other for a right to toil. No organized government and no powerful body of men ever really made any demand or enforced any means that would give to every working man an inalienable right to work. All the right a laborer has under the law, or under present industrial methods, is the right to go from employer to employer in search of work. His right to work depends entirely upon his ability to find some one who has the means and inclination to hire him, and no matter how willing or anxious he cannot force himself upon an employer, but he may be denied this inalienable right upon any reason or pretext, no matter what. The great mass of working men today have practically nothing but their hands. Where are they to go to enforce this inalienable right?

No one knows better than the men who make the statement that the right rests purely upon the master's will, and could trade unionism be destroyed the will would be harder and more arbitrary, and the right to work far less availing than it is today. The inalienable right to work is a bit of birdlime, used to catch the unthinking mass, and society and all industrial life must be made over, or, at least, radically changed before such a right is anything except a far-off dream.

The reason why a union workman does not choose to work with a non-union workman is plain and evident and founded in the protection of himself and his fellow craftsmen. But if it were prejudice and nothing else his right to indulge it would be beyond dispute. Instinctively men love the society of others of their kind. This is true whether this association is for work or play, and the man who desires the society of his companions must so conduct himself that his associates are content to live with him. If he sees fit voluntarily to so arrange his life that his fellows do not desire his company he must accept the consequences, however unreasonable society may be.

Whether the boycott is just or unjust, equitable or inequitable, has no bearing on the case. In this world men are not crucified because they are good or because they are bad, but because they are unlike their fellows. Trade unionists for centuries have believed that they are upholding the rights of men, the welfare of their class; that without their organization their liberty and independence would be lost; they have come to regard the non-union man as one who not only refuses to stand with them, but who is unloyal to his class, a traitor to his kind. They look on him as a man who seeks to undermine and destroy his fellow workmen, and from the nature of things there is a great gulf between them and him. This is not a fact in trade unionism; it is a fact in human nature, and is as deep and abiding as the right of self-defense. For, in its last analysis, it is self-defense.

Trade unions in this regard are not unlike any other class. The doctors and the lawyers, the brokers and the bankers—in short, all sorts of trades and professions—organize for their own protection. Everyone knows how doctors and lawyers regard those members of their profession who will not be bound by their rules as to charges, advertising, and generally such conduct as they term the ethics of their professions, which in its last analysis is the establishment of such rules and regulations as, in their opinion, tend to the improvement of their own condition. Of course, doctors and lawyers, like trade unionists, will stoutly insist that these rules and regulations benefit the public more than their own craft or profession. Perhaps this is true, but, whether true or not, the instinct of self-preservation causes each member to regard one who wilfully stands outside as an enemy to his craft.

That each is responsible for the rest is not a maxim that trade unionism alone has laid upon its members. The law has enforced this responsibility on workmen, sometimes to the most unjust and unreasonable degree. The employer insists that he has the absolute right to employ and discharge at will, and yet the courts always insist that every workman is responsible for the negligence and lack of skill of his fellow workmen, and if he is not satisfied to assume this burden he must quit his job. The land is full of cripples whose injuries were caused by the negligence of a fellow servant whom the employer forced upon the workman. And the courts turn out these cripples without redress upon the theory that each workman is responsible for his fellow. In a railroad employing fifty thousand men, each workman cannot personally know all the rest, but so long as the courts have said that they must be responsible for their conduct they certainly have a right to say that they will work only with men who have enough regard for their fellows to join them in a labor union for their self-defense.

One of the chief objects of the trade union is to form such a complete and perfect organization of its craft that through their officers and agents they will be able to make a collective bargain with their employers. To do this the craft must have such a large proportion of organized men as to make it impossible, or, at least, undesirable for the employer to deal with individual men. That employers always choose to deal with individuals, except where the strength of the unions compels its recognition, is proven by the whole history of trade unionism. From the time when the employers were able to make laws absolutely forbidding unionism down to the present day every device and means have been resorted to that individual workmen should be obliged, unaided, to make terms with his employer, or, rather, to accept such terms as the master saw fit to impose. The acceptance of collective bargaining by employers in the first instance has always been strongly against their will. This has been fought as every new privilege and right gained by the common people has ever been contested by the ruling class.

The demand for a closed shop is nothing but the means that experience has shown is essential to protect the liberty the working people have won and give some vantage ground for other triumphs yet to come.

But aside from the question of direct discharge the open shop is full of annoyance and danger for the workman. Every man desires to do the best he can. He looks for the largest returns for the smallest exertion of energy and strength. In any great institution there are many places of vantage; many jobs that are easy and many more that are hard. Here the employer, or, more often, the boss, has an immense leverage upon his men. As a general rule, the boss is more feared than the employer himself. His term of service depends on the good will of the employer, and his interest is ever leading him to truckle to all of his master's feelings and desires. The employer does not want the union, the boss simply hates the union; thus the promotions, the easy places, the favors, all fall to the non-union workmen, whose presence and whose attitude is ever helpful to the employer and a menace to his fellow workman. If some one is to be relieved for a day, if a laborer is given extra work, if a workman is specially commissioned for an important duty, and if some one is to be promoted it is always the non-union man. This is his reward for minding his own business. In other words, being unfaithful to his class.

It is not so very long since a large part of the coal of England was mined by women, since they were even harnessed to coal cars down deep in the earth, and on their hands and knees drew cars of coal from the darkness up to the point where they were relieved by mules. It is not long since little children from 8 years of age were placed in these mines with their fathers and mothers and were penned in the constant whir and din of the spinning wheels of England for 10, 12 and even 14 hours a day, and it is due to the trade unionist of England that these inhuman conditions are gone forever. But every step of advance was stubbornly fought by employers who violently contended that not only their fortunes but the safety and glory of the British empire rested upon the unpaid labor of these helpless slaves. And if trade unionism today should flag or grow weary, should hesitate and falter, should give up its demands for the recognition of its union, its collective bargains, and its closed shop, if the field should be abandoned to the employers and their agents the great sea of weak and helpless men and women and little children would sweep away the industrial conditions that organized labor has won through its devotion and its struggles, and America would live over the dark industrial history that England has passed through.

It will not do to say that employers are too wise and too humane. They are employers and are victims of the markets in which they buy and sell. The market is not patterned from the best employer, but is as stupid and brutal as its worst.

Trade unionism cannot be true to its own members without the right to demand the closed shop. The ex-

penses and burdens of the union are no small item to the member who receives but little pay for the work he does. As a price for the protection of the union the members must give up part of their earnings to support the organization; they must be ready and willing to contribute to any brother on a strike or in need of help; they must be ready at a minute's notice and at whatever inconvenience and sacrifice to self and family to lay down their tools and go out on a strike—a strike always doubtful, dangerous and uncertain—a strike which may be for some one else, and over no grievance of his own; a strike which may bring victory, and again may mean not only failure to accomplish the desired result, but loss of his job, his means of life. It may mean even the blacklist that shall send him branded up and down the land, with no chance to earn his bread.

All these chances and dangers, not less than those of a soldier on the field, the trade unionist assumes for his devotion to his cause and his faith that united action and unbounded loyalty is the duty of every member of his craft. That his devotion through all the years has brought labor and the humanizing condition for which trade unionism has ever stood, brought strength and greatness to the race, is as much an established fact as the effect and influence of a religion or any other social movement of the race.

The dangers that the unionists have encountered, too, have come ever from the non-union workman, who not only refuses to unite with him, but often joins the enemy at the most critical time and gives his energy and his labor to defeat his class. And the hard won victories of unionism have been won, not only in open contest with the employer, who might be supposed to be on the other side, but have been won against the cowardice and treason of these same non-union men.

But, however, the non-union man may join the enemy to defeat fewer hours and better wages, when he has lost his fight and the unions have triumphed, he is always the first man to demand the rewards of another's efforts and to profit by the courage and devotion of the men he did his best to defeat and to betray, and the employer, too, realizing that this man has given all the aid he could, is ever ready to pay him for his disloyalty to his class. In the heat of the contest the employer gladly gives this workman more than the union demands, and when the fight is over, of course, places him on at least equal terms.

If the man who not only refused to help, but joined the enemy in time of war, shall be allowed, without danger or cost, to reap the fruits of the union's victory, then few men will be found who will assume the danger and the cost. If the rewards of victory can come to him who made no efforts and took no risk, but profits from the privation and suffering of his fellows, then most men will prefer to take that course. To say that the fruits of victory should come without effort—nay, as a reward for cowardice and disloyalty—is neither right

in the realm of ethics nor in the practical work-a-day world.

The reward is for the men who have borne the heat and burden of the day, and unless it shall be reserved for them and those whom they wish to aid, there can be no reason for sacrifice and no reward for fidelity. Men may willingly, even cheerfully, work for the weak and humble, for those not able to protect themselves, but it is asking too much of human nature to require that they shall brave disaster and defeat for the enemies who seek to undermine and destroy their cause.

No one claims that all trades unionists are wise or even honest, much less that they have not made endless mistakes in the past and will not continue to err while time shall last. Neither is trade unionism an ideal institution. It was evolved to serve a purpose and to perform a duty in the upward march of the human race. It was made to fit a condition of society divided into the employing class and the serving class. Its mission is to protect the weak against the strong. In the great industrial strife that has come down through the ages and which will prevail until the capitalist and the laborer are one, trade unionism has fought the battles of the workman. And in fighting for the wage earner it has fought for greater liberty to man. War and strife are not ideal states, but they have been ever present with the human race, and so long as the war of classes shall continue the weak and helpless must ever look to trade unionism as its chief champion and its most powerful defender. But when its work is done and class struggles are at an end, trade unionism will be no more. Then all men will be brothers and the highest good of all will be the fond desire of each.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIALISM DOES NOT STAND FOR DIVIDING UP.

(From "What's So and What Isn't," by John M. Work.)

Capitalism stands for dividing up.

I feel a good deal like apologizing for referring to the absurd dividing up objection. But, if you consider it an insult to your intelligence, remember that there are still many people who actually believe that Socialism stands for dividing up.

Capitalism does stand for dividing up.

Capitalism compels the industrious to divide up with the idle.

Suppose you are the average wage worker.

You work about nine hours a day.

In the first three or four hours of your day's work you reproduce by your labor the amount you receive for the entire day.

In another hour or two you reproduce your proportion of the wear and tear, the running expenses, the raw material, and the wages of superintendence.

Well, then, having done this, it is time for you to take up your coat and hat and dinner pail and go home to your wife and babies.

Do you do it?

No, you don't.

What do you do?

You go ahead and work the rest of the day and add still more to the world's wealth by your labor.

Who earned that surplus?

You earned it.

Who gets it?

The capitalist gets it.

You divide up with him.

The Socialist party says that you, who earned it, shall get it.

The reason you do not get it now is because a few private individuals and corporations are permitted to own the means of production and distribution and to compel you to hand over to them the bulk of the product of your toil in exchange for an opportunity to earn a bare living.

By voting a capitalist ticket, the Republican or Democratic ticket, you have extended to the capitalists the privilege of exploiting you out of the lion's share of your earnings.

The Socialist party says that that portion of the means of production and distribution which, when privately owned, can be used by the private owners to gouge other people, shall be publicly owned and popularly managed; that exploitation shall thereby be banished from the earth and that the workers shall thereby secure the full value of their labor.

Suppose You Are the Average Farmer

A capitalist, individual or corporate, either owns the farm you live on or holds a mortgage against it.

Out of your product you pay him rent or interest.

You divide up with him.

But that is not all.

No matter whether you are a farmer with a farm free of incumbrance, a farmer with a mortgaged farm, or a farmer on a rented farm, you are compelled to hand over a slice of your product to the beef trust.

Another to the agricultural implement trust.

Another to the binding twine trust.

Another to the barbed wire trust.

Another to the steel trust.

Another to the lumber trust.

Another to the rubber trust.

Another to the hide and leather trust.

Another to the copper trust.

Another to the brass trust.

Another to the can trust.

Another to the glass trust.

Another to the paper trust.

Another to the shoe trust.

Another to the coal trust.

Another to the oil trust.

Another to the flour trust.

Another to the woolen trust.

Another to the cotton trust.

Another to the sugar trust.

And others to various other exploiters and grafters.

You divide up with them.

You have to.

That is, you have to so long as capitalism exists.

But you can abolish capitalism by voting the Socialist ticket.

No, Socialism does not stand for dividing up.

Socialism is the public ownership and the popular management of the means of production and distribution which are now used to exploit the masses of the people out of the bulk of the product of their honest toil.

Socialism will prevent dividing up.

It will enable the men who produce the wealth to get it any enjoy it.

Socialism Will Not Destroy Incentive.

Capitalism destroys incentive to do one's best.

Socialism will destroy incentive to do one's worst. For example, it will destroy the incentive to kill off the people by food adulteration. It will destroy the incentive to overreach one's fellow men, and to pinch and cramp and brutalize them by the myriad means now in use.

Under feudalism, the prevailing incentive among the many was to escape starvation, and the prevailing incentive among the few was to excel in war. The making of money was considered beneath the dignity of a gentleman.

Under capitalism, the prevailing incentive among the

many is to escape starvation, and the prevailing incentive among the few is to excel in making money. The incentive to make money is at least better than the incentive to carve the most people with a sword.

Socialism will be another and infinitely greater advance in the matter of incentives.

The desire to excel will continue to be a powerful incentive.

But it will be the desire to excel in something better than killing people or accumulating wealth.

It will be the desire to excel in doing something useful.

Under capitalism, the man who excels can only do so by trampling his fellow men under his feet.

In the Socialist commonwealth, the man who excels can only do so by benefiting his fellow men with his superior knowledge or skill.

Socialism will also open wide the door of incentive in invention, in the sciences, and in the fine arts.

Today the inventor scarcely ever receives any substantial reward for the work of his genius. Capital is necessary to develop an invention. So he sells it to a capitalist for a song. The capitalist receives the reward of the inventor's genius.

In the Socialist commonwealth, the inventor will not have to struggle with incessant poverty, but will be able to give free rein to his genius.

Socialism may, therefore, expect an era of marvelous inventions, such as will make the miraculous inventions of the last hundred years appear trifling in comparison.

Those who are attracted toward scientific pursuits will have ample time and opportunity to do their best along those lines.

Today the devotee of the fine arts has to please the rich in order to keep out of the poor-house. The masses of the people are so steeped in poverty and hard work that their taste for art is as undeveloped as their material ability to gratify such taste if they had it. The few people who have artistic taste lack the means to gratify it.

The rich are almost uniformly vulgar.

They love ostentatious display.

They love a work of art for the money it cost, not for its artistic beauty.

It is to their lack of taste that the artist must truckle. No wonder artistic genius is rare. The moment when a mercenary motive creeps into an artist's brain genius spreads her wings and flies away.

No beautiful thing, no great thing, was ever done primarily for money.

Socialism will give the masses an abundant opportunity to develop artistic taste, and artistic genius, too, for that matter. The artist will then have a constituency worthy of the highest genius. He will no longer be dependent upon the vulgar rich.

The fact is, that while the prevailing incentives at the present time are the incentive to escape starvation

and the incentive to excel in making money, these are by no means the only incentives now existing.

Says John Ruskin: "It is physically impossible for a well-educated, intelligent, or brave man to make money the chief object of his thoughts; as physically impossible as it is for him to make his dinner the principal object of them."

What is the incentive of the young man who works like a Trojan on the football or baseball field, without any pecuniary compensation for it?

It is partly love of the sport and partly desire to excel in the game.

What is the incentive of the man who abandons a paying business to run for office when he could make far more money by attending to business?

It is honor, fame, public approbation.

The fact is that behind the incentive to make money there is frequently the incentive of love of approbation. The money is wanted in order to gratify the love of approbation. The money is wanted in order to secure approbation. If approbation can be secured in other ways the money will not be wanted.

Socialism will put men on their merits and give them all a fair chance to secure approbation in better ways than making money or spending money.

What is the incentive of the man who works all his life to support his wife and children?

Do they pay him money for doing it?

No, his incentive is love.

Among thousands of men and women the love of family has expanded into love of the whole human race. They do not love their families any less than before. In fact, they love them more. But they also love their fellow men more. Their highest incentive is to be of service to humanity. Socialism will provide conditions wherein that incentive will become the highest incentive of a constantly increasing number of people, until, in course of time, it will take in the entire human race.

Socialism will enable every boy and girl to grow up in a normal condition.

That means that people will enjoy superb health and buoyant spirits.

They will no longer be flabby imitations of men, like the flimsy, careworn, overworked, hollow-chested specimens of humanity we see on the streets today.

They will no longer be born tired.

They will have an overmastering desire to exercise themselves.

They will take pleasure in expending their superabundant vitality.

It has been well said that they will enjoy working and achieving as much as the spirited colt enjoys prancing around the pasture.

Socialism will, therefore, extend to all the people an incentive which now operates only on a few—the joy of effort, the ecstasy of achieving.

To a large extent this incentive will become operative as soon as Socialism is introduced. But it will become

more and more operative as the favorable conditions make the people more and more healthy of body, vigorous of mind and wholesome of morals.

Meantime, Socialism will provide a varied multitude of lesser incentives, including the incentive to secure several times as large an income as the average man is getting now.

Socialism Does Not Stand for Free Love.

No, Socialism is not against the home.

Capitalism is against the home.

Socialism does not attack the family.

Capitalism attacks the family.

Capitalism stands for free love.

Those who charge that the Socialists believe in free love simply lie. The Socialists are eternally advocating the things they believe in. If they believed in free love they would be eternally advocating it. The fact that they say they do not believe in it is proof positive that they are opposed to it.

Capitalism does stand for free love.

In the city of New York alone there are fifty thousand prostitutes. And the other cities and towns in the land have them in about the same proportion. Of course, it is obvious that there must be more loose men than loose women, for otherwise the loose women could not make a living. There are a few girls who seem to be born bad and whose environment is such that they cannot overcome the influences of heredity. But the vast majority of the girls who become prostitutes are forced into it by circumstances. Tenement houses, seasons of unemployment, long hours of labor, monotony of life, all these are breeders of prostitution. And all these are due to capitalism. Furthermore, the industries in this country are paying such miserable wages to their female employes that for many of them it is impossible on so small a sum to pay for board and lodging and keep their personal appearance up to the standard which their employers require and which their own impulses dictate.

When a girl finds that her paltry three or four dollars a week will not pay her living expenses, and a man offers to replenish her purse on the usual condition, she is not deliberately a fallen woman.

She is the helpless victim of a vicious and heartless social system.

Socialism will throw its protecting shield around her and it will say to the pimps and seducers, "Hands off, and give the American girl an opportunity to develop into pure and noble womanhood!"

Free love is promiscuity. The number of prostitutes is constantly increasing. It is all due to capitalism.

Socialism will give every working woman her full earnings, it will give every working woman short hours of labor, it will wipe out the wretched tenements, and it will give every woman who desires to work an opportunity to do so.

When that is done, the brothel will cease to receive recruits. Even many of its then occupants will welcome the opportunity to get back into respectable life.

Thus Socialism will remove one of the worst menaces to the home and family.

But the home and family have still other enemies under capitalism.

In the factories of the United States a million married women are working. They are working there because the wages their husbands receive are not sufficient to support their families. In many cases the husband is not able to find a job at all, but does the housework instead.

If these women had short hours of labor, if their tasks were suited to their strength, and they had no household duties in addition, this would not be an interference with family life.

But when a wife and mother has to work at hard labor in a factory from eight to fourteen hours a day no family life worthy of the name can exist in her home.

It is practically an abolition of home and family.

It is altogether due to capitalism.

And Socialism will entirely cure that evil.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that there are vast numbers of children working in the mills, stores and mines, many of whom ought to be in the kindergarten, and all of whom ought to be in school. Their labor is necessary under present conditions to the support of the families to which they belong.

The tale of their sufferings is a harrowing one.

Of all the villainies due to capitalism the blighting of the lives of little children is the most fiendish.

It makes one's blood boil to think of it.

Socialism will put an end to it.

Socialism will take the children out of the mills, mines, stores and factories and put them in school.

What sort of decent home and family life can there be where the little ones have to be sold into this infamous slavery?

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that immense numbers of our young men dare not marry on account of the uncertainty of being able to earn a living.

The last census shows that there are over seven million unmarried men in the United States. A normal man does not remain unmarried of his own free will.

This condition of things puts a premium on prostitution.

It is altogether due to capitalism.

Socialism will make it easy for every man to earn a living.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the economic dependence of woman. Woman is the slave of man because man supports her.

I lay it down as an indisputable proposition that no woman can have genuine self-respect unless she earns her own living.

It is so difficult for a woman to make an honest living for herself today that, although it is not a very polite thing to say, it is nevertheless a fact that there is a con-

stant competition among women to win the marriageable men for husbands.

A woman is practically forced by conditions to marry the first man she has a chance to marry, whether she loves him or not, because she may never have another opportunity. Marriage without love is better than the brothel, at least in the eyes of the public. Of course, there are some women who marry for money when they are not forced to do so. The daughters of the capitalists are in the habit of marrying for money because it brings them social position. There are also some men who marry for money. They as a rule are not forced to do so, but merely do it because they are thrifty.

But the woman who marries for a home is forced to do so by economic necessity.

This fact is the cause of untold domestic unhappiness. It is the cause of most of the divorces.

There is probably more sheer nonsense written about the divorce evil than any other evil of the day.

Short-sighted persons are unable to see that divorces are due to misfit marriages, and that misfit marriages are largely due to capitalism.

Short-sighted persons want to deny divorces except for adultery. But when married people do not love each other it is prostitution for them to live together. It is legalized prostitution, to be sure, but it is prostitution just the same. The fact that it is legal does not make it any less leprous morally. These short-sighted persons want to compel these married couples to live together in prostitution.

Short-sighted persons also say that while divorce may be necessary, the divorced persons should not be the appetite for food and drink in its strength. It is permitted to marry again. The sexual passion is next to perfectly natural. Its normal and temperate gratification is necessary to the highest physical, mental, moral and spiritual development of the individual in the human form. Furthermore, it will find gratification in spite of all barriers, legally if possible, illegally if necessary. To forbid the remarriage of divorced persons is simply to drive them into illicit relations. That is what these short-sighted persons would do.

So long as there are matrimonial misfits there should be divorces, with as little publicity and humiliation as possible, and the divorced persons should be permitted to remarry as freely as anyone else.

The moral welfare of society demands this.

But Socialism will practically abolish divorce. It will do it, not by denying divorces, but by creating conditions wherein matrimonial misfits will be few and far between. When a man and woman marry for love alone, and are not pinched, narrowed and irritated afterward by poverty, by primitive industry carried on in the home, and by the relation of master and slave toward each other, the chances are that they will live happily together all their lives and never think of wanting a divorce.

Socialism will give woman the power to earn a good living for herself.

Then she will be in a position to marry for love alone.
She is now an economic slave.

She will then be economically free.

Of course, Socialism stands for equal suffrage. But it stands for infinitely more than that. It not only stands for the complete political emancipation of woman, but it also stands for the complete economic emancipation of woman.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the fact that both the husband and wife are constantly overworked.

For the husband, this makes the home too often a mere place to eat and sleep.

For the wife, it makes the home a prison where she is doomed to perpetual slavery and drudgery.

"Beyond the alter lies the washtub."

A bright young woman who could easily perform all the labor that ought to be required of anyone, without injury to mind or body, leaving her ample time for higher development and for civic duties, becomes a household drudge, warping her mind, deforming her body, and bringing the wrinkles of old age prematurely to her face. Frequently she not only does the family washing, but has to wash for well-to-do families while her husband walks the streets in search of a job. She has to bend over a cooking stove day in and day out, year in and year out. Little wonder if she becomes irritable under such circumstances. It is a marvel that she does not become narrower than she really does.

This condition of things is wholly due to capitalism.

Socialism will remedy that evil.

Another menace to the home and family under capitalism is the poverty of the masses of the people, which compels them to skimp themselves constantly and to do without practically all the ennobling and refining things of life which would make the home a real home instead of a pitiful caricature of a home.

This poverty is due entirely to capitalism.

Socialism will remove that evil.

In short, capitalism is the arch enemy of the home and family.

Capitalism is making home a farce and a travesty.

Capitalism is making family life impossible for millions of the people and a wretched failure for many of the rest.

Socialism will remove all of these menaces to the home and family.

We can, therefore, confidently expect Socialism to result in a wonderful elevation and purification of the home and family.

Private Property.

No, Socialism will not prevent the people from owning private property.

Capitalism prevents the people from owning private property.

Capitalism confiscates the bulk of the product of the wage worker. This makes it impossible for the average wage worker to own his own home. It makes it impossi-

ble for him to own anything but the cheapest household furniture. He has the cheapest carpets on his floors. He has the cheapest curtains on his windows. He has the cheapest clothing for his family. He has the cheapest food for his table. He is not able to afford books and pictures and statuary. If he manages to buy a piano on monthly payments, it is a cheap, tinny, bangy affair, that degenerates rather than cultivates the musical faculty.

All of his property put together would not invoice more than a hundred or two of dollars.

In fact, it is not fit for junk.

Capitalism prevents him from possessing private property.

In the cities and towns of the United States there are 10,488,000 homes—or alleged homes.

Of these, 6,351,000 are occupied by renters.

Of the remainder, 1,101,000 are mortgaged.

Of the entire 10,488,000 homes, less than one-third are owned by their occupants free from encumbrance.

The number of renters is constantly increasing.

The percentage of mortgages is constantly increasing.

(See the second volume of the census of 1900.)

In the cities of 100,000 and over in the United States, seventy-two per cent of the population lives in rented houses.

In San Francisco seventy-six out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Eight out of every hundred live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Sixteen live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In New Orleans seventy-eight out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Three live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Nineteen live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In Chicago seventy-five out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Thirteen live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. Twelve live in houses which they own free of encumbrance.

In New York eighty-eight out of every hundred families live in rented houses. Seven live in houses to which they hold the title, but which are mortgaged. While a meagre five live in houses which they own free of incumbrance.

It is needless to say that these overwhelming majorities of homeless families are the families of the working class.

Capitalism prevents those who produce property from owning property.

Socialism will give everybody a chance to own private property.

Not the kind of private property that can be used to gouge other people, however.

"But," I hear Mr. Capitalist's whining voice complaining, "will there be no way in which I can invest my money so that I can draw an income from it without working myself?"

No, you will positively have to quit stealing.

Socialism will enable everyone to own a comfortable and healthful home, substantial, beautiful and attractive furnishings for his home, and all of the things which are necessary for expanding culture and a wholesome, healthful life.

In other words, Socialism will enable everyone to own all the private property he needs for his own use.

Luxury and poverty are both evil.

Socialism furnishes the desirable middle ground between these two extremes, the golden mean, the happy medium, the condition wherein there will be luxury and poverty for none, but plenty for all, and the amplest opportunity for physical, mental, moral and spiritual development.

• Impracticability.

No, Socialism is not impracticable. It is not a dream. Capitalism is impracticable. It is a nightmare.

Do you think a system which drives thousands of men to suicide is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives thousands of people insane is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives millions of men to drink is practicable?

Do you think a system which drives hundreds of thousands of girls to prostitution is practicable?

Do you think a system which throws hundreds of thousands of children into the industrial mill and grinds the life out of them is practicable?

Do you think a system which deliberately manufactures hoboism is practicable?

Do you think a system which puts a premium on dishonesty is practicable?

Do you think a system which is an enemy of the family relation is practicable?

Do you think a system which bars out the masses of the people from the higher things of life is practicable?

Do you think a system which compels everybody to violate the Golden Rule is practicable?

Do you think a system which takes the product of the useful worker away from him and hands it over to the useless capitalist is practicable?

Capitalism is guilty of all these and many other crimes. And all of them are constantly growing worse.

Capitalism is impracticable. It has been a mere makeshift. It has been a mere stepping stone to something better.

Socialism is practicable.

Public ownership has already been demonstrated to be practicable.

Of all the institutions now existing, if you want to see the ones which come the nearest to being models of efficiency, take a peep at the publicly owned postoffice, the publicly owned public schools, the publicly owned fire departments, the publicly owned water departments, etc. These institutions have been operated under very unfavorable circumstances. They have been operated in the interest of the capitalist class. And they have been set down in a system reeking with graft and corruption. They have been almost entirely without safe-

guards from corruption. And yet they are the best models of efficiency now in existence.

I do not believe in war except for freedom, but I cannot help noticing the fact that the crews on the publicly owned vessels in the United States navy are more efficient than those on any privately owned vessel in the world. When the privately owned General Slocum went down, burning and drowning a thousand and twenty people, the ill-paid and undrilled crew was altogether unequal to the situation. They did not know how to handle the rafts and lifeboats. They had never had a fire-drill. They would not have known how to handle the hose even if it had not been rotten. They were panic stricken. They were worse than useless in trying to save the passengers. Surely, inefficiency could not be carried farther than that. Compare it with the marvelous efficiency of the crews of the publicly owned and operated vessels at Manila and Santiago.

The practicability of public ownership has already been completely demonstrated.

If, however, we Socialists were trying to get people to vote for public ownership against their own interests, or even aside from their own interests, we would be impractical.

It is true that we sometimes appeal to sentiment incidentally. We sometimes depict the horrors of child slavery. We sometimes describe the pitiable situation in which the women of the land are placed, etc. Some people can be reached in that way. It also serves to rivet attention. But it is entirely incidental.

We appeal primarily to the interest of the voters.

It is absolutely to the interest of the wage-workers to vote for Socialism.

It is also to the interest of most of the farmers, most of the small business men, and most of the small professional men, to vote for Socialism.

It is to the interest of at least ninety per cent of the voters of the United States to vote for Socialism.

We appeal to their interest.

If that is not practical, what is?

Socialism is the natural solution of all the puzzles of society. It is the natural and only solution of the trust problem. Wealth is now in the hands of a few. The many are serving the few. This has all been brought about by natural development. Natural development now dictates that these centralized industries shall be taken over by the public, so that all the people shall share in the results of this natural development.

This is in the line of evolution.

It is the only way to obey the law of progress.

It substitutes system for chaos.

It is rational.

It is sane.

It is the only practicable thing that can be done.

It does not require angels to accomplish it.

All it requires is the concentrated efforts of those to whose interest it is to attain it.

All it requires is the application of common sense to society.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE INSIDE STORY OF THE PANIC OF OCTOBER, 1907.

[From a speech by Senator Robert M. LaFollette in the United States Senate.]

For a few years there has been developing a minor financial group, now known as the "Heinze-Morse-Thomas group." It consisted of twelve banks and two trust companies, a consolidated steamship company, the Heinze United Copper Company, with his banking connections in New York and Butte, Mont. Compared with the Standard Oil and Morgan groups, it was a small factor. But its steamship company was encroaching on Morgan's New York, New Haven and Hartford road in the coastwise traffic, and Heinze in a running fight had forced Standard Oil to buy him off at a cost reported at \$10,000,000. Mr. Morgan was ready to show an affectionate interest in Morse, and Standard Oil was quietly lying in wait for Heinze. It all fitted together like a piece a mosaic. They could discipline the country, arrest further railway legislation, State and national, discredit Roosevelt, dispose of a third term, prepare Congress for emergency legislation, put Consolidated Shipping out of business, and pick up Heinze and United Copper on the way. Morse and Heinze were caught between the big groups.

Suddenly, in the first days of October, somebody (to use a Wall street phrase) began to "smash United Copper on the curb." The stock broke badly. Standard Oil was getting under way. Doubtless, never suspecting the source, Heinze, through his brother, a member of the stock exchange, and through brokers, bought and bought until United Copper went out of sight, carrying down Heinze's brother, one firm of his brokers, and involving the Morse-Heinze banks in the crash. Up to this point the panic had been well in hand, but with the revelations following hard upon clearing-house investigations, it slipped its bridle, and the situation assumed a serious aspect. But not for one moment did Morgan or Standard Oil miss the opportunity offered. Morse and Heinze were forced out. They were compelled to reorganize their directorships and substitute semi-dependent Standard Oil men as their successors. They were forced to sell their stocks for what they could get. Morgan attacked Morse's Consolidated Steamship Company stocks and bonds, and Morse was ultimately forced to surrender his steamship company combine, which he did. They went after the Knickerbocker Trust Company, Charles T. Barney, president, and close ally of Morse's. It was charged in New York that the interests deliberately started a run on the Knickerbocker. Morgan was appealed to for aid. Morgan, whose plaudits have been sounded here in this Chamber, was in a position to follow carefully every step and phase of this proceeding. In the first place, Mr. Morgan gave out, as reported in Wall street, that the Knickerbocker would be supported if it met the demands of the depositors who had started a run upon it. There was nothing in subsequent events to indicate that there was any sincerity in that promise, but an analysis of every step is convincing to the contrary. Support was not given; it was withheld. After the company, relying upon that pledge, had paid out millions, it was forced to close its doors, and Barney went to a suicide's grave. Barney was likewise a director in the Trust Company of America, a comparatively new institution, with a few System directors, giving the great groups a semi-interest in the institution, though they have not yet taken it over. The raid on Heinze, Morse, Barney, et al., and the latter's directorate connections with the Trust Company of America, caused public suspicion to fall upon it. A strong run was started. This was not on the programme, but as the Vanderbilts, allies of the Standard Oil, were

represented on the directorate of the Trust Company of America, Standard Oil was bound to offer some assistance. Though gold and bank notes were ostentatiously piled on the counters to impress depositors, and young Vanderbilt offered as an exhibit of resources and placed at the teller's window, the excited depositors persisted in demanding their money. Its distant relationship to the group was sufficient to save it in the end.

Conferences over the inside condition of this trust company, however, gave Morgan, owing to his group connections, information that the control of Tennessee Coal and Iron—stock control and pool stock—had been placed with the Trust Company of America by John W. Gates and his associates. In a Wall street panic there is always big game to be bagged. That is one of the uses of a panic. Morgan seized the opportunity for United States Steel. Standard Oil interests were identical with Morgan's interests in this, and he made it a condition of saving the Trust Company of America that Gates and the Tennessee Coal and Iron pool sell to him at his price or the Trust Company of America should go on the rocks. The surrender was complete. United States Steel took over Tennessee Coal and Iron, thereby tightening its grip upon the most precious of all the national resources of the country. It was bad for the country, but the trust company was saved and Morgan was glorified.

The Westinghouse Company's experience affords another striking illustration of the useful purposes of a well-managed panic. Westinghouse was in the way of Standard Oil's General Electric. Members of the boards of directors of the Standard Oil banks were in a position to exert some influence at the critical moment most harmful to Westinghouse, and he went to the wall.

The panic was working well. The stock market had gone to smash. Harriman was buying back Union Pacific shorts, but still smashing the market. Morgan was buying in short steel stocks and bonds, but still smashing the market. The Morse group had been disposed of. Standard Oil had settled with Heinze. The Consolidated Steamship Company had surrendered to Morgan, and at the same time the interests were disciplining the people. The country banks were begging for their balances. Business was being held up. It was reported that the President had concluded to revise his message to Congress. Railway valuation would be "dropped or so modified as to be harmless." On the street and in the brokers' offices the strain of apprehension was intense. In the midst of a Wall street fight, when fear supersedes reason, it is difficult for those who are in it, but not directing it, to determine how much is real, how much is sham. Some of the guns are loaded only with blank cartridges to alarm; some are loaded with powder and ball to kill. The press set it all forth as it appeared on the surface. It portrayed the great financiers hurrying to and fro, setting a prop here, a prop there, holding midnight sessions in Morgan's library, seeking some way to avert the calamity that threatened prosperity and a nation's honor. It was a thrilling picture, but it was false. The reporters were not invited to the conferences of the inner circles where sat the men who controlled not only the great banking organizations of New York, but the transportation and business of the country, the men who were behind the panic and would stay its progress when it had served its purpose.

But the panic must be given a fitting finale, a dramatic finish.

Standard Oil had suffered a series of mortifying experiences and exposures that were beginning to tell upon the iron nerves of the men who for half a lifetime had seemed utterly hardened and indifferent to public condemnation.

Morgan and others had come out of the United States Steel bond-and-stock-conviction-performance and the insurance scandals, badly scarred. Both Standard Oil and Morgan were much in need of redemption with the general public. It would be a great stroke of business to wind this panic up with these gentlemen as the saviors of public credit. A carefully elaborated climax, with Morgan and the Standard Oilers as the central figures would invest them with a halo of self-sacrifice and public spirit almost sublime.

The floor of the stock exchange was chosen as the scene for the closing act, October 24 the time.

The men who had created the money stringency, who had absorbed the surplus capital of the country with promotions and reorganization schemes, who had deliberately forced a panic and frightened many innocent depositors to aid them by hoarding, who had held up the country by lawlessly refusing to return their deposits, never lost sight of one of the chief objects to be attained. The cause of currency revision was not neglected for one moment. It was printed day by day in their press; it passed from mouth to mouth. The phenomenal interest rates were impressing the public in a way never to be forgotten. High interest rates should be made to plead for emergency money through the telegraph dispatches of October 24 in every countinghouse, factory, and shop in America. The banks refused credit to old customers—all business to new customers. Call loans for money were at last denied at any price. This put operators caught short or long on the rack. It spelled ruin.

For the first time since the panic began 11:30 a. m. arrived with everybody on the floor of the stock exchange wildly seeking money at any price. Interest rates which had for several days ranged from 20 to 50 per cent. began to climb higher. Settlement must be made before 3 o'clock. Money must be forthcoming, or the close of the business day would see Wall street a mass of ruins and banks and trust companies on the brink of collapse.

How perfect the stage setting! How real it all seemed! But back of the scenes Morgan and Stillman were in conference. They had made their representations at Washington. They knew when the next installment of aid would reach New York. They knew just how much it would be. They awaited its arrival and deposit. Thereupon they pooled an equal amount. But they held it. They waited. Interest rates soared. Wall street was driven to a frenzy. Two o'clock came, and interest rates ran to 150 per cent. The smashing of the market became terrific. Still they waited. Union Pacific declined 10 1-2 points in ten sales. Northern Pacific and other stocks went down in like proportion. Five minutes passed—ten minutes past 2 o'clock. Men looked into each other's ghastly faces. Then, at precisely 2:15, the curtain went up with Morgan and Standard Oil in the center of the stage with money—real money, twenty-five millions of money—giving it away at 10 per cent.

And so ended the panic.

How beautifully it all worked out.

The Masters of America.

Mr. Sereno S. Pratt, editor of the Wall Street Journal, and the author, sir, of a most excellent economic study of Wall street, as a great financial and market center, published in the World's Work, a little more than two years ago, an article entitled "Our Financial Oligarchy." Among other things he said:

"Already in this country one-fifth of the estimated wealth is represented by the capitalization of the trusts. As one-third of the capital stock held in block is sufficient to control a company, if the rest of the stock is widely distributed, so the highly concentrated trust power may be said to control the business of America."

Notwithstanding the fact that stock may be widely distributed, the method of control by a very limited number is thus stated by Mr. Pratt:

"In practical operation, however, the stock company is subject to autocratic or oligarchical control. The stockholders do not vote—they send proxies that are held by the powers that be. Many of the directors are mere dummies or fillers-in, or salaried officials, or representatives of dominant interests that may not always appear openly. The power is commonly exercised either by one man or by an executive committee composed of those who by ownership or monopoly are able to control. It is not difficult for a small group of financiers to dominate properties worth billions of dollars, belonging to thousands of investors, who have really no voice in their management. This power of control may occasionally be lost; the stockholders may revolt or rival capitalists buy in, but in general it can be perpetuated. There has thus been

developed what may be termed the divine right of high finance to rule."

Mr. Pratt then submits a list of seventy-six men and denominates them "our business rulers." He states that these seventy-six men were, at that time, holding, in round numbers, sixteen hundred directorships in the trusts and combinations of the country. Of this list he states, and I quote further:

"Possibly there are several names on this roll that a more discriminating judgment would reject; there are ten or fifteen more names that should be included. At least fifty of the names can not be questioned; and of the list as a whole it may be said that it is fairly representative of the corporation power of the United States."

He says further:

"Mr. John Moody estimates that the trust power of the United States is \$20,379,000,000. These men control that power and more. They are also the dominant influence in the banks and trust companies having deposits of \$10,000,000,000 and a capital investment of \$2,750,000,000. An analysis of their power will show that fully 100 of the greatest railroad, industrial, and banking corporations, with a capitalization equal to more than one-fifth of the nation's wealth, are controlled by them.

"Here are the more important of the interests which they either control or in which they are very influential:

"**Interests controlled.**—Banking, iron and steel, coal, gas, electric light, shipping, oil, beef, insurance, copper, cotton, hardware, real estate, dry goods, agricultural implements, railroads, telegraph, cable, telephone, traction, express, mining, sugar, tobacco, coffee, wool, machinery, building, paper, and food products."

As illustrating the centralization of railroad control, the author cites eight men, who control two-thirds of the railway mileage of the country, and nine billion of the thirteen billion of railroad capitalization as it then stood. The men named as masters of transportation were: J. Pierpont Morgan, A. J. Cassatt, James J. Hill, E. H. Harriman, George J. Gould, W. K. Vanderbilt, W. H. Moore, and William Rockefeller. Of these eight men he says further:

"They control the coal trade also, and their influence extends over the express companies and through many industrial corporations. As masters of the railroads they have a taxing power—if prices charged for transportation can be so termed—equal to the taxing power of Congress, and the gross income of the railroads is nearly two thousand million a year, as compared with the Federal Government revenue of about seven hundred million."

In naming the men who controlled the trust power of this country in 1905, Mr. Pratt cited Mr. John Moody as to the magnitude of this power. John Moody is the author of publications which are consulted every hour of the day in Wall street as a guide to investors in railroad, industrial, and other securities. I doubt, Mr. President, if there can be found in the United States a man equally well informed upon the subjects concerning which he writes. Mr. Moody's work, from which Mr. Pratt quoted, gave the statistics as of January 1, 1904. Since that time an enormous increase in trust consolidation has taken place.

Trust Growth, 1904 to 1908.

Mr. President, Mr. Pratt thought he saw symptoms or "signs," as he expressed it, of possible division among these great organized groups that were in control. All signs fail, Mr. President. Statistics prove that centralization has never made greater progress in the history of this country than it has made since the article was printed by Mr. Pratt.

Mr. Moody has just prepared a revision of these statistics, bringing the figures down to January 1, 1908. I have been fortunate in obtaining the proof sheets of this revision, and present in the following table the figures for 1904 and 1908, in parallel columns:

Table Showing Growth of Trusts, 1904-1908.

(Statistics by John Moody.)

Classification of trusts.	Number of plants acquired or con- trolled	Total capitalis- ation, stocks and bonds outstand- ing	Number of plants acquired or con- trolled	Total capitalis- ation, stocks and bonds outstand- ing
Seven greater industrial trusts	1,528	\$ 2,662,752,100	1,638	\$ 2,708,438,754
Lesser industrial trusts.	3,426	4,055,039,433	5,038	8,243,175,000
Important industrial trusts in reorganizat'n	282	528,551,000	.....	.....
Total important industrial trusts....	5,236	7,246,342,533	6,676	10,951,613,754
Franchise trusts	1,336	3,735,456,071	2,599	7,789,393,000
Great railroad groups..	1,040	9,397,363,907	745	12,931,154,000
All trusts.....	8,664	\$20,379,162,511	10,020	\$31,672,160,754

This table shows an increase in trust consolidation and capitalization almost beyond human comprehension. It shows that in these four years the trust capitalization was increased by these few men in control of the big business of the country more than \$11,000,000,000, or more than 55 per cent. This \$31,000,000,000 of industrial, franchise, and transportation trust capitalization in 1908 does not represent all the corporate power in the hands of the Standard Oil-Morgan combination. It does not include their financial consolidations—their banks, trust companies, and insurance companies.

Mark you, sir, four years ago the consolidation of industrial, franchise and steam railroad corporations aggregated, in round numbers, \$20,000,000,000. To-day, in four short years, just those three lines of consolidation aggregate over \$31,000,000,000.

Men may treat with indifference this tendency. To me, sir, and I believe to the awakened interest of the great American public, it is becoming the one question, the one issue. System ownership and control of business is, of course, approved by all who profit by it directly or indirectly, but to the independent American citizen who is thinking of the welfare of his country it assumes a grave and portentous aspect.

Classification of Those in Control.

Along with this enormous increase in trust power has gone a steady process of centralization in the control of that power, until now the entire situation is dominated by the Standard Oil-Morgan combination. Mr. Pratt named seventy-six men. I named nearly one hundred, because I wished to include in my list enough men to show the method and connections of the System. When you begin the process of elimination to reach the real source, the true fountain head of control over the business life of the people of this country, you come down, sir, to two names:

Standard Oil and Morgan.

All feuds between these two great powers have been put aside. Mr. Morgan's picture hangs on the wall of the inner room of the Rockefellers at 26 Broadway. In combination today they are steadily absorbing the smaller powers. Some gentlemen in this country may feel content with the present situation. Wait a little, Mr. President, the hour will strike for them. Mr. Hill has been taught that he must not oppose the big ones. The Gould interests are being swallowed up by the combine. Morse and Heinze were neatly pocketed during the recent panic. The smelter trust was given a drubbing and started in the same direction. The Vanderbilts can not long retain their important control, and themselves see the handwriting on the wall.

In the list of men who may still be said to be in control of the country's business, there are only fourteen who can treat with the Standard Oil-Morgan combine on anything, even remotely

approaching a footing. These men may be roughly classified and described in groups. We have the men of large means and considerable independent control who, a few years ago, might have been, in combination, a potential menace to either Standard Oil or Morgan, but today they find their only success lies in maintaining harmony with the big ones. These men are:

W. K. Vanderbilt.
George J. Gould.
John Jacob Astor.
August Belmont.
Jacob Schiff.
James Speyer.
Frederick Weyerhaeuser.

E. H. Harriman.
James J. Hill.
Henry C. Frick.
Thomas F. Ryan.
W. H. Moore.
J. Ogden Armour.
Louis F. Swift.

In the foregoing group are found big operators and men of large power and interest in their own right. Here are also found the big independent bankers, Jacob Schiff, James Speyer, and August Belmont. The two latter have a special element of strength in the support of foreign money. They all find that existence depends upon maintaining the most cordial relations with the Standard Oil-Morgan combine. These fourteen men are, next to Standard Oil and Morgan, the great powers in the control of our industrial and commercial life.

The balance of the list may be divided roughly into two classes. The first class comprises men of large wealth and real power, nearly every one of whom would fit into the group I have just given, except that they are stars of lesser magnitude. Some are "mere bank presidents" who, for the most part, take orders; others are attorneys and representatives of the combine of the same rank. These men are:

C. H. Dodge.
J. H. Post.
P. A. Valentine.
Cyrus H. McCormick.
M. Taylor Pyne.
William D. Sloan.
Stephen S. Palmer.
T. H. Hubbard.
Adrian Iselin, jr.
Brayton Ives.
G. G. Haven.
Frederick Cromwell.
C. A. Peabody.
W. J. Oakman.
G. W. Young.
G. F. Baker.
E. J. Berwind.
C. Ledyard Blair.
J. F. Dryden.
J. B. Duke.
D. Guggenheim.
V. P. Snyder.
John Claflin.
Charles Lanier.

A. N. Brady.
James C. Fargo.
Edwin Hawley.
John R. Hegemen.
D. O. Mills.
C. H. Mackay.
John J. Waterbury.
J. J. Mitchell.
Norman B. Ream.
Oliver Ames.
T. Jefferson Coolidge.
Daniel G. Reid.
Charles Steele.
F. W. Vanderbilt.
Henry Walters.
H. L. Higginson.
Nathanial Taylor.
Thomas Dolan.
P. A. B. Widener.
Dumont Clarke.
E. H. Gary.
Samuel Rea.
W. A. Clark.
E. B. Morris.

The balance of the list, embracing thirty-five names, are the nandy men of the system. They have little or no power except that which is delegated. In so far as they have any power at all they exercise it in a representative capacity. This group contains the attorneys, bank presidents of lesser order, the dummy directors, the fillers-in, the figureheads. These men are:

Edwin S. Marston.
Moses Taylor.
Henry A. C. Taylor.
G. W. Perkins.
Francis M. Bacon.
C. S. Fairchild.
John W. Sterling.
Samuel Sloan.
Otto H. Kahn.
Luther Kountze.
A. D. Juilliard.

Levi P. Morton.
J. H. Parker.
H. C. Demming.
H. H. Vreeland.
Frederick Sturgis.
Charles H. Russell.
Woodbury Langdon.
Chauncey M. Depew.
A. E. Orr.
Oliver H. Payne.
Charles M. Schwab.

James N. Jarvie.
H. P. Whitney.
C. H. Allen.
A. W. Kretch.
P. D. Cravath.
V. Morawetz.
Paul Morton.

H. McK. Twombly.
W. S. Webb.
James H. Parker.
E. F. C. Young.
Charles Dawes.
James B. Forgan.

Mr. President, any man with intelligence who sees the same names repeated over and over again on the various directorates which, in a national sense, dominate the great industries of this country, will understand how the important business interests are in fact welded and fused together into one mass under one control.

The business of the country is transacted by corporations and combinations of corporations. The control of corporations rests of necessity with a board of directors, the executive committee, and the officers of the organization. It is, therefore, only necessary to take the great controlling transportation and business organizations of the country, analyze the directorates, and the truth is ascertained. When the most significant names in the Standard Oil-Morgan groups are distributed with their all-powerful influence on the boards of directors controlling in a broad way transportation, industrial institutions, mining, iron and steel, coal, gas, electric light, shipping, copper, and other natural products and the industrial life resting upon them, together with the great insurance companies, and an overbalancing control of the banking institutions of the country, no amount of denunciation and personal abuse, from whatever source it may come, can by any possibility obscure the facts. So long as the official records of these controlling bodies stand as published today, the proof stands, and the case is made.

LIST OF MEN WHO CONTROL INDUSTRIAL, FRANCHISE, TRANSPORTATION, AND FINANCIAL BUSINESS OF THE UNITED STATES, WITH THEIR DIRECTORSHIPS AND OFFICES IN VARIOUS CORPORATIONS.

The list includes directors of the two great banks at the head of the Standard Oil and Morgan groups and fifty other names.

Directors of the National City Bank of New York City (Standard Oil Control).

EDWIN S. MARTSON:

President and director of the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company;
Citizens' Mutual Gas Company, director;
Detroit, Hillsdale and Southwestern Railroad Company, president and director.

For Wayne and Jackson Railroad Company, director;
New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;
New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director.
Queens Insurance Company of America, director; and
Standard Gaslight Company of the City of New York, director.

JAMES STILLMAN:

The Alliance Realty Company, director;
Amalgamated Copper Company, director;
American Safe Deposit company, trustee;
The Audit Company of New York, director;
Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
Bank of the Metropolis, director;
The Bowery Savings Bank, trustee;
Century Realty Company, director;
The Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, director;
Chicago and Northwestern Railroad Company, director;
The Citizens' National Bank, director;
Columbia Bank, director.
Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
East River Gas Company, director;
The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
Fidelity Bank, vice-president and director;
Fidelity Trust Company (Kansas City Mo.), director;
The Fifth Avenue Safe Deposit Company, president and trustee;
The Hanover National Bank, director;
Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;

Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, director;
 The Lincoln National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 The Lincoln Deposit Company, trustee;
 Louisiana Western Railroad Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;
 Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;
 The National Butchers' and Drovers' Bank, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway, director;
 New York and Putnam Railway, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York Clearing House Association, member of clearing-house committee;
 New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director;
 The New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;
 The New York Trust Company, trustee;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburg, director in United States;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York director;
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;
 Rigs National Bank, Washington, director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway, director;
 The Second National Bank, president and director;
 Southern Pacific Railroad Company, director;
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railroad, director;
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;
 Terminal Warehouse Company, treasurer and director;
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;
 United States Trust Company, trustee;
 West Shore Railroad, director; and
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

SAMUEL SLOAN:

Consolidated Gas Company of New York, vice-president and trustee;
 Western Railroad Company;
 Bank of the Metropolis, director;
 Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, director;
 Chester Railroad, director;
 Manhattan Railway Company, director;
 East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;
 The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 Greene Railroad, director;
 Hanover and Newport Railroad Company, director;
 Hopatcong Railroad, director;
 Lackawanna and Montrose Railroad, director;
 Manhattan Company, director;
 Chairman of board of managers of Delaware, Lackawanna and Mechanics' Bank, Brooklyn, director;
 Missouri Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Morris and Essex Extension Railroad, director;
 Morris and Essex Railroad, director;
 Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, director;
 New York, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, director;
 The New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;
 Oswego and Syracuse Railroad, president and director;
 Passaic and Delaware Extension Railroad, director;
 Passaic and Delaware Railroad, director;
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;
 Sussex Railroad, director;
 Syracuse, Binghamton and New York Railroad Company, director;
 Texas and Pacific Railway Company, director;
 United States Trust Company, trustee;
 Utica, Chenango and Susquehanna Valley Railroad, director;
 Valley Railroad, director;
 Warren Railroad Company, director; and
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

EDWARD H. HARRIMAN:

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
 The Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, director;
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, director;
 Central Pacific Railway Company, president and director;
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, director;
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;
 Delaware and Hudson Company, member of the board of managers;
 The Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;
 Ilwaco Railway and Navigation Company, director;
 International Banking Corporation, director;
 Leavenworth, Kansas and Western Railroad, director;
 Louisiana Western Railroad Company, president and director;
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;
 Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Railroad (and Steamship Company), president and director;
 Nassau Electric Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad Company, director;
 The Night and Day Bank, director;
 Orange County Road Construction Company, president and director;
 Oregon and California Railroad Company, president and director;
 Oregon Railroad and Navigation Company, president and director;
 Oregon Short Line Railroad Company, president and director;
 The Pacific Coast Company, director;
 Pacific Mail Steamship Company, president and director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;
 Portland and Asiatic Steamship Company, president and director;
 Railroad Securities Company, president and director;
 San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, director;
 South Pacific Coast Railway, president and director;
 Southern Pacific Company, president and director;
 Southern Pacific Terminal Company, president and director;
 Texas and New Orleans Railroad Company, president and director;
 Union Pacific Land Company, director;
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, president, chairman of the executive committee, and director;
 Wells, Fargo & Co., chairman of executive committee and director;
 Wells, Fargo-Nevada National Bank, director; and
 The Western Union Telegraph Company, director;

MOSES TAYLOR:

City Real Property Investing Company, director;
 Clayton Fire Extinguishing and Disinfecting Company, vice-president and director;
 Cornwall-Lebanon Railroad, director;
 Cornwall Railroad, director;
 Electric Properties Company, director;
 Franklin Iron Company, director;
 Knickerbocker Trust Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Lake Champlain and Moriah Railroad Company, vice-president and director;
 The Mines Furnace Company, director;
 New Amsterdam Gas Company, president and director;
 Shenandoah Steel Wire Company, director;
 The South Buffalo Railway Company, vice-president and director;
 Southern Steel Company, Gadsden, Ala., director;
 Stony Point Land Company, director;
 Sulphur Dioxide Fumigating and Fire Extinguishing Company, director;
 Tilly Foster Iron Company, director;
 Westchester and Bronx Title and Mortgage Guaranty Company, vice-president and director;
 Westchester Trust Company, director; and
 Witherbee, Sherman & Co., director.

H. DODGE:

Alamogordo and Sacramento Mountain Railway, director;
 Almagre Mining Company, vice-president and director;
 The American Brass Company, director;

Ansonia Clock Company, vice-president and director;
 Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee;
 The Brearley School (Limited), vice-president and director;
 Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad Company, director;
 Columbia Bank, director;
 Commercial Mining Company, director;
 Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company, director;
 Dawson Railway and Coal Company, director;
 Detroit Copper Mining Company, of Arizona, vice-president and director;
 El Paso and Northeastern Company, treasurer and director;
 El Paso and Rock Island Railway, director;
 El Paso and Southeastern Railroad Company, treasurer and director;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 The Golden Hill Corporation, director;
 Greene-Cannea Copper Company, director;
 Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, director;
 Montezuma Copper Mining Company, director;
 Morenci Southern Railway Company, vice-president and director;
 Nacozari Railroad Company, director;
 National Railroad Company of Mexico, director;
 New Mexico Railway and Coal Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, director;
 The Old Dominion Company, of Maine, director;
 Quincy Mining Company, director; and
 United Globe Mines, director.

J. H. POST:

President and director of the National Sugar Refining Company;
 The Alliance Realty Company, director;
 American-Hawaiian Steamship Company, director;
 Bank of Havana, member of New York committee;
 Chaparra Sugar Company, treasurer and director;
 Cuban-American Sugar Company, treasurer and director;
 The Fajardo Sugar Company, director;
 Guantanamo Sugar Company, vice-president and director;
 London Assurance Corporation, trustee;
 Mercedita Sugar Company, director;
 The Nassau Trust Company, trustee;
 New Niquero Sugar Company, president and director;
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;
 West India Land and Trading Company, director; and
 Williamsburgh Savings Bank, trustee;

HENRY A. C. TAYLOR.

Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, director;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Plaza Bank, director; and
 The Second National Bank, director. ..

WILLIAM ROCKEFELLER:

President and director of Standard Oil Company;
 Amalgamated Copper Company, director;
 Anaconda Copper Mining Company, trustee;
 Brooklyn Union Gas Company, director;
 Central New England Railway Company, director;
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;
 Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
 East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;
 The Hanover National Bank, director;
 Harlem River and Portchester Railroad Company, director;
 Hartford and Connecticut Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 National Transit Company, director;

The New England Navigation Company, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Ontario and Western Railway Company, director;
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;
 Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Poughkeepsie Bridge Railroad Company, director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway, director;
 Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;
 United Metals Selling Company, director;
 United States Trust Company, trustee; and
 West Shore Railroad, director.

HENRY C. FRICK.

Union Trust Company, Clairton, Pa., director;
 Diamond Light and Power Company, secretary and treasurer;
 City Deposit Bank, Pittsburg, director;
 Union Insurance Company, director;
 National Union Fire Insurance Company, director;
 United States Steel Corporation, director;
 Mellon's National Bank, Pittsburg, director; and
 Union Trust Company of Pittsburg, director.

P. A. VALENTINE:

Armour & Co., vice-president and director;
 Armour Grain Company, director;
 Central Trust Company, of Illinois, director;
 Chicago City Railway, director;
 Chicago Junction Railway, director;
 Chicago Warehouse and Terminal Company, director;
 Continental National Bank, director;
 Farmers Loan and Trust Company, New York, director;
 Fidelity Trust Company, director;
 Illinois Tunnel Company, director;
 Interstate National Bank, director;
 Kansas City Electric Light Company, director;
 Kansas City Railway and Light Company, director;
 Metropolitan Street Railway, Kansas City, Mo., director;
 National City Bank, New York, director;
 National Packing Company, director;
 New York Trust Company, director;
 St. Louis Stock Yards Company, director;
 Stock Yards Savings Bank, director;
 Third National Bank, St. Louis, director;
 Union Stock Yards Company, Omaha, vice-president and director;
 Union Stock Yards and Transit Company, of Chicago; and
 United States Leather Company, director.

CYRUS H. M'CORMICK:

Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 International Harvester Company, president and director;
 Merchants' Loan and Trust Company, director; and
 National City Bank, New York, director.

G. W. PERKINS:

Astor Trust Company, director;
 Bankers' Trust Company, director;
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company, chairman executive committee and director;
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Dayton and Union Railroad Company, director;
 German-American Insurance Company, director;
 Great Central Dock Company, vice-president and director;
 International Harvester Company, chairman finance committee and director;
 International Mercantile Marine Company, director;
 Marquette and Bessemer Dock and Navigation Company, director;
 New York Trust Company, trustee;
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Northern Securities Company, director;

Pere Marquette Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
Toledo Railway and Terminal Company, president and director;
and

United States Steel Corporation, director;

FRANCIS M. BACON:

Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee; and
Seamen's Bank of Savings in the city of New York, trustee.

M. TAYLOR PYNE:

Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, president and director;
Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, director;
Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;
Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member
board of managers;

East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;
Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
Harvey Steel Company, director;
Lackawanna Iron and Coal Company, director;
Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
Morris and Essex Railroad Company, director;
New Jersey Zinc Company, director;
New York, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, director;
Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, director;
Passiac and Delaware Railroad, director;
Princeton Bank, director;
Sussex Railroad, director;
United New Jersey Railroad and Canal Company, director;
University Power Company, vice-president and director;
Utica, Chenango and Susquehanna Valley Railroad Company,
director;

Valley Railroad Company, director; and

Warren Railroad Company, president and director.

WILLIAM D. SLOAN:

Central and South American Telegraph Company, director;
Eastern Steel Company, director;
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, vice-president and trustee;
Greenwich Savings Bank, trustee;
Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;
United States Trust Company, trustee; and
W. & J. Sloane, director.

C. S. FAIRCHILD:

President and director of Atlanta and Charlotte Air-Line Railroad;
Audit Company of New York, member advisory committee of
stockholders;

Birkbeck Investment Savings and Loan Company of America,
president and trustee;

British and American Mortgage Company (Limited), director;
Erie and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;
Lawyers' Mortgage Company, vice-president and director; and
Svea Fire and Life Insurance Company, United States trustee.

JOHN W. STERLING:

Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;
Central Union Gas Company, director;
Citizens' Mutual Gas Light Company, of Long Island City, di-
rector;

Consolidated Gas Company, of New York, trustee;
Duluth, South Shore and Atlantic Railway Company, director;
East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;
Mutual Trust Company of Westchester County, director;
New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;
New York Trust Company, trustee;
Northern Union Gas Company, director;
Standard Gas Light Company, of the City of New York, director;
and

Westchester Lighting Company, director;

HENRY O. HAVEMEYER (DECEASED):

The Alliance Realty Company, director;
American Coffee Company, president and director;
American Sugar Refining Company, president and director;
Brooklyn Cooperage Company, director;
Brooklyn Eastern District Terminal, director;
Brooklyn Elevator and Milling Company, director;
Colonial Safe Deposit Company, director;

Colonial Trust Company, trustee;
 Great Western Company, president and director;
 New Jersey and New York Realty and Improvement Company,
 director; and
 Palmer Waterfront Land and Improvement Company, director.

STEPHEN S. PALMER:

President and director of New Jersey Zinc Company;
 Bertah Mineral Company, vice-president and director;
 Cayuga and Susquehanna Railroad, secretary, treasurer, and di-
 rector;
 Colonial Assurance Company, vice-president and director;
 Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;
 Detroit, Hillsdale and Southwestern Railroad, vice-president and
 director;
 East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;
 Empire Zinc Company, of Colorado, president and director;
 Empire Zinc Company, of Colorado, president and director;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 Fort Wayne and Jackson Railroad, vice-president and director;
 Green Bay and Western Railroad Company, president and chair-
 man board of directors;
 Harvey Steel Company, president and director;
 Kewaunee, Green Bay and Western Railroad, president and di-
 rector;
 McDonald Land and Mining Company, president and director;
 Mineral Point Zinc Company, treasurer and director;
 New Jersey Zinc Company, of Pennsylvania, president and direc-
 tor;
 New York Edison Company, director;
 New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;
 Palmer Land Company, president and director;
 Palmer Water Company, president and director;
 Prime Western Spelter Company, president and director;
 Princeton Bank, director;
 Robins Conveying Belt Company, director;
 St. Louis and Hannibal Railway, president and director;
 Tefft Weller Company, director;
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director; and
 Valley Railroad Company, director.

JACOB H. SCHIFF:

Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;
 Columbia Bank, director;
 Fidelity Trust Company, Philadelphia, director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, director;
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, R. I., director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 National Bank of Commerce, in New York, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, director;
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director; and
 Woodbine Land and Improvement Company, vice-president and
 director.

T. H. HUBBARD:

A. and N. Realty Company, vice-president and director;
 Acadia Coal Company (Limited), director;
 American Light and Traction Company, chairman of executive
 committee, director;
 Chattanooga Southern Railroad, vice-president and director;
 Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Guatemala Central Railroad Company, president and director,
 Guatemala Railway Company, director;
 The International Bank, president and director;
 International Banking Corporation, president and chairman board
 of directors;
 Lookout Fuel Company, vice-president and director;
 Mechanics' National Bank, director;
 Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, director;
 Mortgage-Bond Company of New York, director;
 Philippine Railway Company, director; ,
 Public Accountants' Corporation, director;
 Sixty Wall Street, director;
 Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad, vice-president and direc-
 tor;

Wabash Railroad Company, director;
 Washington Building Company, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

ADRIAN ISELIN, JR.:

Adrian Furnace Company, director;
 Astor Trust Company, director;
 Baloise Fire Insurance Company, resident trustee;
 Bank of Savings in the City of New York, trustee;
 Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg Railway Company, vice-president and director;
 Central Trust Company, trustee;
 City and Suburban Homes Company, director;
 Cowanshannock Coal and Coke Company, president and director
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;
 Franco-American Financial Association, director;
 Gallatin National Bank, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Helvetia Realty Company, president and director;
 Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Manhattan Storage and Warehouse Company, secretary, treasurer, and trustee;
 Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
 National Railroad Company, of Mexico, director;
 Neptune Realty Company, president and director;
 New Rochelle Water Company, secretary, treasurer, and director;
 New York Dock Company, director;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburgh, United States director;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;
 Pittsburg Gas Coal Company, vice-president and director;
 Punxsutawney Iron Company, director;
 Reynoldsville and Falls Creek Railroad, director; and
 Southern Railway Company, director.

BRAYTON IVES:

President and director of the Metropolitan Trust Company;
 Atlantic Safe Deposit Company, director;
 Hecker-Jones-Jewell Milling Company, president and director;
 Kanona and Prattsburgh Railway Company, president and director;
 Metcalf Land Company, president and director;
 Standard Milling Company, president and director;
 United States Guarantee Company, director; and
 Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, chairman board of directors.

OTTO H. KAHN:

Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee; and
 Morristown Trust Company, director.

LUTHER KOUNTZE:

United States Mortgage and Trust Company, vice-president and director.

J. PIERPONT MORGAN:

Aetna Insurance Company, of Hartford, Conn., director;
 American China Development Company, director;
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;
 Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;
 Ellenville and Kingston Railroad Company, director;
 First National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;
 Fulton Navigation Company, director;
 General Electric Company, director;
 Harlem River and Portchester Railroad, director;
 Hartford and Connecticut Western Railroad Company, director;
 Jersey City and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;
 Mexican Telegraph Company, director;

Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;
 Newburg, Dutchess and Connecticut Railroad Company, director;
 New England Navigation Company, The, director;
 New England Railroad Company, director;
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Ontario and Western Railway Company, director;
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad Company, director;
 Ontario, Carbondale and Scranton Railway Company, director;
 Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Port Jervis, Monticello and Summitville Railroad Company, director;
 Poughkeepsie Bridge Railroad Company, director;
 Pullman Company, The, director;
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;
 Rhode Island Company (electric line), director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;
 Syracuse, Genève and Corning Railway Company, director;
 Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;
 United States Steel Corporation, director;
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;
 West Shore Railroad, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

A. D. JUILLIARD:

Bank of America, director;
 Central Trust Company, trustee;
 Chemical National Bank, The, director;
 Cossit Land Company, president and director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;
 Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;
 Ohio Company of Associates, director;
 Realty Associates, director; and
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee.

G. G. HAVEN:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;
 Bank of America, director;
 California Eastern Railway, director;
 California Eastern Railway, director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway, director;
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;
 Morristown Trust Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway Company, vice-president and director;
 Sonora Railway, director; and
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad Company, president and director.

JAMES N. JARVIE:

Bank of America, director;
 Bloomfield Trust Company, director;
 Central Trust Company, trustee;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;

London Assurance Corporation, trustee;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee; and
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad, director.

FREDERIC CROMWELL:

Atlanta and Charlotte Air Line Railway Company, director;
 Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member board of managers;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;
 Gill Engraving Company, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Husted Realty Company, director;
 Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, director;
 Morris and Essex Railroad, director;
 Morristown Trust Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;
 New York Dock Company, director;
 Sixth Avenue Railroad Company, director; and
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railroad, director.

H. P. WHITNEY:

Clearwater and Raquette Lake Railroad, director;
 Cuba Company, The, director;
 Eastern Steel Company, The, director;
 Electric Storage Battery Company, The, director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee;
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;
 Fulton Navigation Company, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Guggenheim Exploration Company, director;
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), first vice-president
 and director;

Morton Trust Company, director;
 Nassau County Bank, Mineola, N. Y., director;
 Nassau Light and Power Company, director;
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, The, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Plaza Bank, The, director;
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;
 Union Exchange Bank, director
 Washington Life Insurance Company, director;
 Westchester Racing Association, director; and
 Western Mining Company, director;

C. A. PEABODY:

President and director of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New
 York;

Astor Trust Company, director;
 The Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee;
 The Delaware and Hudson Company, member of board of man-
 agers;

The Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 Fulton Trust Company, director;
 The Gallatin National Bank, director;
 Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;
 The Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee, and
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director.

C. H. ALLEN:

Vice-president and director of Morton Trust Company;
 American Surety Company of New York, trustee;
 Continental Rubber Company of America, treasurer and director;
 Electric Properties Company, director; and
 Washington Life Insurance Company, vice-president and director.

A. W. KRECH:

President and trustee of Equitable Trust Company of New York;
 American Surety Company of New York, trustee;
 Bank of Havana, member of New York committee;
 City Investing Company, director;
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;
 Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;
 The Distilling Company of America, director;
 The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;
 The Mercantile Trust Company, director;
 St. Bartholomew's Loan Association, director;

Union Exchange Bank, director; and
Wheeling and Lake Erie Railroad Company, vice-president and
director;

P. D. CRAVATH:

American Surety Company of New York, trustee;
Commercial Trust Company, Philadelphia, Pa., director;
Electric Properties Company, director;
The Equitable Trust Company of New York, director;
Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;
International Harvester Company, director;
The Lackawanna and Wyoming Valley Rapid Transit Company,
director;
Mercantile Trust Company, director;
Morton Trust Company, counsel and director;
Standard Safe Deposit Company, director; and
The Standard Trust Company, director.

V. MORAWETZ:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, chair-
man executive committee and director;
California Eastern Railway Company, director;
Guantanamo Sugar Company, director;
Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;
International Paper Company, director;
Niagara Falls Power Company, The, director;
Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway Company, director;
Norfolk and Western Railway Company, director; and
Southern California Railway Company, director.

P. MORTON:

President and director Equitable Life Assurance Society of the
United States;
Continental Rubber Company of America, director;
Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, The, trustee
Great Western Cereal Company, The, director;
Iowa Central Railway Company, director; and
Mercantile Trust Company, The, director.

LEVI P. MORTON:

President and director of Morton Trust Company;
Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;
Fifth Avenue Trust Company, president and trustee;
Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
Homes Insurance Company, director;
Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;
Newport Trust Company, director; and
Washington Life Insurance Company of New York, director.

W. G. OAKMAN:

President and director of Hudson Companies;
Alabama Great Southern Railroad Company, director;
American Car and Foundry Company, director;
Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, director;
Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, director;
Buffalo, Rochester and Pittsburg Railway Company, director;
Guaranty Trust Company of New York, chairman of board of
directors;
Havana Electric Railway Company, director;
Hudson Improvement Company, president and director;
Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;
Interborough Rapid Transit Company, director;
Jefferson and Clearfield Coal and Iron Company, vice-president
and director;
Long Island Consolidated Electrical Companies, director;
Long Island Railroad Company, director;
Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, director;
Morristown Trust Company, director;
Morton Trust Company, director;
Mutual Trust Company of Westchester County, director;
New York and Long Island Railroad Company, director;
New York and Queens County Railway, director;
New York City Interborough Railway Company, director;
Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company, vice-president and
director;
Reynoldsville and Falls Creek Railroad, director;

Richmond Light and Railroad Company, director;
 Rogers Locomotive Works, director; and
 Subway Realty Company, vice-president and director.

T. F. RYAN:

President and director of Morton Trust Company;
 American Tobacco Company, director;
 Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;
 Continental Rubber Company of America, director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;
 Industrial Trust Company of Providence, director;
 Mercantile Trust Company, director; and
 Seaboard Air Line Railway, director.

G. W. YOUNG:

Acker, Merrall & Condit Company, director;
 Alma Coal Company, director;
 Anacostia and Potomac River Railroad Company, director;
 Atlantic Securities Company, director;
 Audit Company of New York, vice-president and director;
 Brightwood Railway Company, director;
 C. K. Davis Coal Company, director;
 Casualty Company of America, director;
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad Company, director;
 City and Suburban Railway Company, Washington, director;
 Clarksburg Fuel Company, director;
 Columbia Railway Company, director;
 Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;
 Continental Investment Company, vice-president and director;
 Detroit, Toledo and Ironton Railway Company, director;
 Fairmont Coal Company, director;
 First National Bank of Bayonne, vice-president and director;
 Georgetown and Tennallytown Railway Company, director;
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;
 Interborough Rapid Transit Company, director;
 Jersey City Trust Company, director;
 Mechanics' Trust Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;
 Metropolitan Railway Company, Washington, D. C., director;
 New Jersey and Hudson River Railway and Ferry Company, director;
 Northern New Jersey Land Company, director;
 Northern Railroad Company of New Jersey, director;
 O'Rourke Engineering Construction Company, secretary, treasurer, and director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;
 Perth Amboy Trust Company, director;
 Potomac Electric Power Company, director;
 Rapid Transit Subway Constructions Company, director;
 Registrar and Transfer Company of New Jersey, president and director;
 Registrar and Transfer Company of New York, director;
 Third National Bank, Jersey City, N. J., director;
 Union Gas and Electric Company, Cincinnati, vice-president and director;
 Washington and Glen Echo Railroad Company, director;
 Washington and Rockville Railroad Company, director;
 Washington Investment Company, director;
 Washington Railway and Electric Company, director;
 Washington, Woodside and Forest Glen Railway and Power Company, director; and
 Windsor Trust Company, director.

G. F. BAKER:

American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;
 Astor Trust Company, director;
 Atlas Portland Cement Company, director;
 Bankers' Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and trustee;
 Bowery Savings Bank, trustee;
 Car Trust Investment Company (Limited), London, director;
 Central Railroad Company of New Jersey, director;
 Chase National Bank, director;
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway Company, director;

U. Consolidated Gas Company of New York, trustee;
 W. Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member
 direc board of managers;
 East Jersey Water Company, director;
 East River Gas Company of Long Island City, director;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, director;
 First National Bank of Chicago, director;
 First National Bank of the City of New York, president and direc-
 tor;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, director;
 Jersey City Water Supply Company, vice-president and director;
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;
 Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, director;
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;
 Lehigh Valley Coal Company, director;
 Liberty National Bank, director;
 Manhattan Trust Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 Montclair Water Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, trustee;
 New Jersey General Security Company, president and director;
 New York and Long Branch Railroad Company, president and
 director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York Clearing House Building, director;
 New York Mutual Gaslight Company, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Northern Securities Company, second vice-president and director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;
 Provident Loan Society of New York, trustee;
 Spring Brook Water Supply Company, director;
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and
 West Shore Railroad, director;

C. T. BARNEY (DECEASED):

Albany Trust Company, director;
 Alliance Realty Company, director;
 American Ice Company, director;
 Audit Company of New York, member of advisory committee of
 stockholders;
 Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee;
 Century Realty Company, vice-president and director;
 Chelsea Realty Company, director;
 Chemung Canal Trust Company, director;
 Chihuahua Mining Company, director;
 Coal and Iron National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 Corporation Trust Company, New Jersey, director;
 Cuba Railroad Company, director;
 Deep Gravel Mining Company, director;
 French-American Bank, member of American advisory board;
 Good Land Cypress Company, director;
 Hudson Mortgage Company, director;
 Knickerbocker Safe Deposit Company, president and director;
 Knickerbocker Trust Company, president and director;
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;
 Matawok Land Company, director;
 National Bank of North America, director;
 New Amsterdam National Bank, director;
 New Amsterdam Safe Deposit Company, director;
 New Jersey Terminal Dock and Improvement Company, director;
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, president and direc-
 tor;
 New York Mortgage and Security Company, vice-president and
 director;
 Schenectady Trust Company, director;
 Taylor Creek Ditch Company, director;
 Title Insurance Company of New York, vice-president and director;

Trust Company of America, director;
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director; and
 Westchester Trust Company, director;

E. J. BERWIND:

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;
 Berwind-White Coal Mining Company, president and director;
 Cuba Company, director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, director;
 Girard Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;
 Havana Coal Company, president and director;
 Interborough-Metropolitan Company, director;
 International Coal Company, president and director;
 International Mercantile Marine Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 New River and Pocahontas Consolidated Coal Company, director;
 Ocean Coal Company, president and director;
 Republic Iron and Steel Company, director;
 Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway, director;
 Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, director;
 Tintic Company, director;
 Virginia and Southwestern Railway Company, director;
 Virginia Iron, Coal and Coke Company, director;
 Willmore Coal Company, president and director; and
 Windber National Bank, director;

C. LEDYARD BLAIR:

Belvidere National Bank, director;
 Commercial Trust Company of New Jersey, director;
 Ellenville and Kingston Railroad, director;
 Green Bay and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Kewaunee, Green Bay and Western Railroad, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Ontario, Carbondale and Scranton Railway Company, director;
 St. Louis and Hannibal Railway, director;
 Securities Company, director;
 Sussex Railroad, director;
 Sussex Realty Company, president and director;
 United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director; and
 Warren Railroad, director;

H. C. DEMING:

Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, director; and
 Mercantile Trust Company, president and director.

J. F. DRYDEN:

President and director of Prudential Insurance Company;
 Commercial Trust Company of Philadelphia, director;
 Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Fidelity Trust Company, Newark, vice-president and director;
 Franklin National Bank, Philadelphia, director;
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;
 Union National Bank, Newark, vice-president and director;
 United States Casualty Company, director; and
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

J. B. DUKE:

President and director American Tobacco Company;
 American Snuff Company, director;
 American Surety Company, director;
 Blackwell's Durham Tobacco Company, director;
 British-American Tobacco Company (Limited), chairman board of directors;
 Imperial Tobacco Company of London, director;
 International Cigar Machinery Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Republic Iron and Steel Company of New Jersey, director;
 Southern Cotton Oil Company, director;
 Southern Power Company, director;
 Union Bleaching and Finishing Company, director;
 Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, director; and
 Wesson Company, director.

G. J. GOULD:

American District Telegraph Company of New Jersey, director;
 American Telegraph and Cable Company, director;

American Union Telegraph Company, director;
 Arkansas Midland Railroad, president and director;
 Atlantic and Pacific Telegraph Company, director;
 Bowling Green Trust Company, director;
 Chicago Elevator Company, director;
 Coal Belt Railway, president and director;
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;
 Colorado Midland Railway Company, director;
 Continental Trust Company of Baltimore, director;
 Davis Coal and Coke Company, director;
 Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Eldorado and Bastrop Railway, director;
 Farmerville and Southern Railroad, president and director;
 Forth Smith Suburban Railway, president and director;
 Galveston, Houston and Henderson Railroad Company, director;
 Globe Express Company, director;
 Gold and Stock Telegraph Company, director;
 International and Great Northern Railroad Company, president and director;
 International Ocean Telegraph Company, president and director;
 Kansas and Arkansas Valley Railway, president and director;
 Kansas City Northwestern Railroad Company, president and director;
 Kansas-Missouri Elevator Company, director;
 Little Rock Junction Railway, president and director;
 Manhattan Railway Company, president and director;
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;
 Missouri Pacific Railway Company, president and director;
 New York Mutual Telegraph Company, director;
 New York Telephone Company, director;
 Pacific Mail Steamship Company, director;
 Pine Bluff and Western Railroad, president and director;
 Pittsburg Terminal Railroad and Coal Company, director;
 Rio Grande Southern Railroad, director;
 Rio Grande Western Railway Company, chairman board of directors;
 St. Louis, Iron Mountain and Southern Railway Company, president and director;
 St. Louis, Watkins and Gulf Railroad, president and director;
 Sedalla, Warsaw and Southwestern Railway Company, president and director;
 Southern and Atlantic Telegraph Company, director;
 Texas and Pacific Railway Company, president and director;
 Utah Fuel Company, director;
 Wabash, Pittsburg Terminal Railway Company, chairman board of directors;
 Wabash Railroad Company, director;
 Washington and New Orleans Telegraph Company, director;
 West Virginia Central and Pittsburg Railway Company, director;
 Western Maryland Railroad Company, director;
 Western Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Western Union Telegraph Company, vice-president and director;
 and
 Wetherford, Mineral Wells and Northwestern Railway, president and director.

D. GUGGENHEIM:

American Smelters' Securities Company, president and board of directors;
 American Smelters' Steamship Company, director;
 American Smelting and Refining Company, president and director;
 Continental Rubber Company of America, director;
 Esperanza Mining Company, director;
 Federal Lead Company, vice-president and director;
 Gimbel Brothers (Incorporated), director;
 Guggenheim Exploration Company, president and director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 National Lead Company, director; and
 Nevada and Northern Railway Company, director.

V. P. SNYDER:

American Surety Company of New York, trustee;
 Audit Company of New York, director;
 Casualty Company of America, director;

Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;
 Equitable Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Essex County Trust Company, East Orange, N. J., director;
 Fifth Avenue Trust Company, trustee;
 Mercantile Trust Company, director;
 Merchants' Safe Deposit Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 Union County Trust Company, of Elizabeth, N. J., director;
 Union National Bank, Newark, director;
 United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director; and
 Washington Life Insurance Company, director.

H. H. VREELAND:

Bleecker Street and Fulton Ferry Railroad Company, president and director;
 Bridge Operating Company, vice-president and director;
 Broadway and Seventh Avenue Railroad, director;
 Central Crosstown Railroad Company, vice-president and director;
 Central Park, North and East River Railroad Company, president and director;
 Cuba Company, director;
 Dry Dock, East Broadway and Battery Railroad Company, president and director;
 Electric Storage Battery Company, director;
 Empire City Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and director;
 Forty-second Street and Grand Street Ferry Railroad Company, president and director;
 Fulton Street Railroad Company, president and director;
 Fulton Street Railroad Company, president and director;
 Long Island Electric Railway Company, director;
 Metropolitan Securities Company, president and director;
 Metropolitan Street Railway Company, director;
 New York and Long Island Traction Company, director;
 New York and Queens County Railway Company, director;
 New York City Railway Company, president and director;
 Second Avenue Railroad Company, president and director;
 Third Avenue Railway Company, president and director;
 Thirty-fourth Street Crosstown Railway Company, president and director;
 Twenty-eight and Twenty-ninth Streets Crosstown Railroad Company, president and director; and
 Twenty-third Street Railway Company, president and director.

JOHN CHAFLIN:

President and director of the H. B. Claflin Company;
 American Exchange National Bank, director;
 Associated Merchants' Company, president and director;
 Atlantic Mutual Insurance Company, trustee;
 Commercial Union Assurance Company (Limited), of London, director;
 Commercial Union Fire Insurance Company of New York, director;
 German Alliance Insurance Company, director;
 German-American Insurance Company, director;
 Home Insurance Company, director;
 Hudson Trust Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;
 Palatine Insurance Company, trustee; and
 United States Trust Company, trustee.

FREDERICK STURGES:

New York Warehouse and Security Company, president and director; and
 Seaman's Bank for Savings in the City of New York, trustee.

CHARLES LANIER:

American Cotton Oil Company, director;
 Canal Louisiana Bank and Trust Company, director;
 Cataract Construction Company, director;
 Central and South American Telegraph Company, vice-president and director;
 Central Trust Company, trustee;
 Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;
 Massillon and Cleveland Railroad, president and director;
 Pittsburg, Fort Wayne and Chicago Railway Company, president director.

Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, trustee;
 Southern Railway Company, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director;

JAMES H. PARKER:

J. H. Parker & Co.;
 Coal and Iron National Bank of New York, director; and
 National Realty Company, president, treasurer, and director;

CHARLES H. RUSSELL:

J. H. Parker & Co., president and director;

WOODBURY LANGDON:

Associated Merchants' Company, director;
 Brighton Yarn Company, director;
 Cannellton Coal Company, director;
 Citizens' Central National Bank, director;
 German Alliance Insurance Company, director;
 German-American Insurance Company, director;
 Hudson Trust Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance Company, director;
 New York Trust Company, trustee; and
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee.

JOHN JACOB ASTOR:

Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;

Astor Trust Company, The, director;
 Illinois Central Railroad Company, director;
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;

HENRY M. FLAGLER:

Vice-president and director of Standard Oil Company;
 Cuba Company, The, director;
 Florida East Coast Railway, president and director;
 Jacksonville Terminal Company, president and director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 National Fuel Gas Company, director;
 National Transit Company, director;
 New York Transit Company, director;
 Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Company, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

JAMES C. FARGO:

American Express Company, president and director;
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 Merchants Dispatch Transportation Company, president and director;
 National Express Company, director;
 United States Express Company, director;
 Westcott Express Company, president and director.

JAMES J. HILL:

Chase National Bank, The, director;
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;
 First National Bank of Chicago, director;
 First National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 Great Northern Railway Company, chairman board of directors;
 Manhattan Trust Company, director;
 Northern Securities Company, president and director; and
 St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railway Company, director.

EDWIN HAWLEY:

American Exchange National Bank, director;
 British Columbia Copper Company (Limited), The, director;
 Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;
 Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, director;
 Colorado Midland Railway Company, director;
 Colorado Springs and Cripple Creek District Railway, director;
 Des Moines and Fort Dodge Railroad Company, president and director;
 European Time Table Distributing Company, treasurer and director;
 Great Western Power Company, president and director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Iowa Central Railway Company, president and director;
 Keithsburg Bridge Company, director;
 Minneapolis and St. Louis Railroad Company, president and director;

Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, director;
 Ocean Time Table Distributing Company, treasurer and director;
 Standard Coupler Company, director;
 Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railroad Company, director;
 United States Light and Heating Company, The, vice-president and director;

United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;
 Western Pacific Railway Company, director; and
 Western Power Company, president and director.

JOHN R. HEGEMAN:

President and director Metropolitan Life Insurance Company;
 Durland Company, The, director;
 Fixico Mining Company, president and director;
 Hamilton Trust Company, trustee;
 International Banking Corporation, director;
 Lincoln Traction Company, Nebraska, director;
 Metropolitan Bank, director;
 National Surety Company, director;
 Northampton Portland Cement Company, director;
 Randolph-Macon Coal Company, director;
 Union Dime Savings Institution, trustee; and
 Victor Chemical Works, director.

W. H. MOORE:

American Can Company, director;
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, The, director;
 Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, director;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railway Company, director;
 Evansville and Indianapolis Railroad, director;
 Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad Company, director;
 Evansville Belt Railway Company, director;
 Fidelity Fire Insurance Company of New York, director;
 First National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 Kansas City, Fort Scott and Memphis Railway Company, The, director;

Kansas City, Memphis and Birmingham Railroad Company, director;

Keokuk and Des Moines Railway Company, director;
 National Biscuit Company, director;
 Peoria and Bureau Valley Railroad Company, director;
 Price Flavoring Extract Company, director;
 Rock Island Company, The, director;
 St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director; and
 United States Steel Corporation, director;

FREDERICK WEYERHAUSER:

Weyerhaeuser Timber Company, president;
 Weyerhaeuser Syndicate, "head of," and
 Known as "The Lumber King" (Who's Who).

D. O. MILLS:

Atlantic Coast Steamship Company, The, director;
 Bank of New York (N. B. A.), director;
 Bellingham Bay and British Columbia Railroad, director;
 Cataract Construction Company, director;
 Champlain Realty Company, director;
 City and Suburban Homes Company, director;
 Erie Elevator Company, president and director;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, The, director;
 International Paper Company, director;
 Inyo Development Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;

Long Dock Mills and Elevator, director;
 Manhattan Steamship Company, director;
 Mergenthaler Linotype Company, director;
 Metropolitan Company, The, trustee;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 National Bank, D. O. Mills & Co. (Sacramento, Cal.), director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;

Niagara Development Company, president and director;
 Niagara Falls Power Company, The, president and director;
 Niagara Junction Railway, president and director;
 North American Commercial Company, vice-president and director;

North Atlantic Steamship Company, director;
 Provident Loan Society of New York, The, trustee;
 St. Maurice Lumber Company, director;
 Southern Pacific Company, director;
 United States Trust Company, trustee;
 Virginia and Truckee Railroad, president and director; and
 West Shore Railroad, director.

C. H. MACKAY:

American Exchange National Bank, director;
 Canadian Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Commercial Cable Building Company, president and director;
 Commercial Cable Company, The, president and director;
 Commercial Pacific Cable Company, president and director;
 Federal Sugar Refining Company, vice-president and director;
 Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;
 Mackay Companies, The, president and trustee;
 New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;
 Pacific Postal Telegraph-Cable Company, president and director;
 Postal Telegraph-Cable Company, president and director;
 Southern Pacific Company, director; and
 United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director;

C. W. MORSE:

Bath Trust Company, director;
 Boston Insurance Company, director;
 Butterick Company, first vice-president and director;
 Century Realty Company, director;
 Clyde Steamship Company, director;
 Eastern Steamship Company, director;
 Fifth Avenue Estates, director;
 Fourteenth Street Bank, director;
 Garfield National Bank, vice-president and director;
 Garfield Safe Deposit Company, trustee;
 Hudson Navigation Company, director;
 Lincoln National Bank (Bath, Me.), director;
 Mallory Steamship Company, director;
 Mercantile National Bank of the City of New York, The, director;
 Metropolitan Steamship Company, director;
 National Bank of North America, The, vice-president and director;
 New Amsterdam National Bank, vice-president and director;
 New Amsterdam Safe Deposit Company, vice-president and director;

New York and Cuba Mail Steamship Company, The (Ward Line), director;

New York Mortgage and Security Company, director;
 New York Produce Exchange Bank, director;
 Title Insurance Company of New York, The, director;
 Van Norden Trust Company, director;
 Wall Street Exchange Building Association, vice-president and director; and

William Campbell Wall Paper Company, director;
 Mercantile Trust Company, The, director;
 Morton Trust Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance and Trust Company, trustee;
 Niagara Development Company, director;
 Niagara Falls Power Company, The, director;
 Niagara Junction Railway, director;
 Plaza Bank, The, director;
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

A. N. BRADY:

American Tobacco Company, The, director;
 Bridgeport Gas Light Company, director;
 Brooklyn Heights Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Brooklyn, Queens County and Suburban Railroad Company, chairman board of directors.
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, chairman board of directors;
 Coney Island and Gravesend Railway Company, director;

Brooklyn Union Elevated Railroad Company, chairman board, of directors;

Consolidated Car-Heating Company, director;

Consolidated Gas Company, of New York, trustee;

Consolidated Gas, Electric Light and Power Company, Baltimore, director;

Consolidated Telegraph and Electrical Subway Company, director;

Corn Exchange Bank, The, director;

East River Gas Company, of Long Island City, director;

Edison Electric Illuminating Company, of Brooklyn, president and director;

Electric Storage Battery Company, The, director;

Fort Wayne Gas Company, vice-president and director;

Central Rubber Company, director;

Havana Tobacco Company, director;

Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company, director;

Hudson Companies, The, director;

International Cigar Machinery Company, director;

Kings County Electric Light and Power Company, president and director;

Kings County Lighting Company, vice-president and director;

Maryland National Bank, Baltimore, director;

Memphis Consolidated Gas and Electric Company, president and director;

Municipal Gas Company, Albany, president and director;

Nassau Electric Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;

National Commercial Bank, Albany, director;

National Surety Company, director;

New Amsterdam Gas Company, director;

New York Air Brake Company, director;

New York Carbide and Acetylene Company, vice-president and director;

New York Edison Company, The, president and director;

New York Mutual Gas Light Company, director;

Ohio and Indiana Consolidated Natural and Illuminating Gas Company, director;

People's Gas Light and Coke Company, Chicago, chairman board of directors;

Rubber Goods Manufacturing Company, director;

Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company, director;

Troy Gas Company, of Troy, N. Y., director;

Union Bleaching and Finishing Company, director;

United Electric Light and Power Company, Baltimore, director;

United States Cast Iron Pipe and Foundry Company, director;

United States Rubber Company, director;

Utica Gas and Electric Company, president and director;

Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, director; and

Williamsburgh Trust Company, director;

AUGUST BELMONT:

Alliance Assurance Company, of London, trustee;

American-Asiatic Steamship Company, The, director;

American China Development Company, director;

Audit Company of New York, The, acting president and director;

Bank for Savings in the City of New York, The, trustee;

Cape Cod Construction Company, president and director;

First National Bank of Hempstead, president and director;

Helvetia Swiss Fire Insurance Company, trustee;

Interborough-Metropolitan Company, chairman of board of directors;

Interborough Rapid Transit Company, chairman board of directors

Kingston Consolidated Railroad Company, director;

Long Island Electric Railway Company, director;

Long Island Motor Parkway (Incorporated), director;

Long Island Railroad Company, director;

Manhattan Trust Company, director;

National Park Bank of New York, The, director;

New York and Long Island Railroad Company, director;

New York and Long Island Traction Company, The, director;

New York and Queens County Railway Company, director;

North American Transportation and Trading Company, director;

Phoenix National Bank, vice-president and director;

Subway Realty Company, president and director;

Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company, chairman board of directors;

Westchester Racing Association, president and director; and Windsor Trust Company, director.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW:

American Safe Deposit Company, trustee;

American Surety Company, trustee;

Beech Creek Railroad Company, director;

Brooklyn Warehouse and Storage Company, director;

Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;

Buffalo, Thousand Islands and Portland Railroad Company, director;

Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;

Canada Southern Railway Company, director;

Carthage and Adirondack Railway, director;

Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;

Central Dock and Terminal Railway, director;

Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, director;

Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;

Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, director;

Clearwater and Raquette Lake Railroad, director;

Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;

Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;

Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member board of managers;

Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;

Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;

Fulton Chain Railroad Company, director;

Fulton Navigation Company, director;

Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;

Hudson River Bridge Company, director;

Jersey City and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;

Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;

Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, chairman board of directors;

Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;

Mercantile Trust Company, The, director;

Merchants' Despatch Transportation Company, director;

Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;

Michigan, Midland and Canada Railroad Company, director;

Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;

New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;

New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;

New York and Harlem Railroad Company, director;

New York and Ottawa Railway, director;

New York and Putnam Railroad, director;

New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;

New York Central, Niagara River Railroad Company, director;

New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;

New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;

Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;

Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;

Niagara River Bridge Company, director;

Oswego and Rome Railroad, director;

Pine Creek Railway Company, director;

Raquette Lake Railway Company, director;

Rome, Watertown and Ogdensburg Railroad Company, director;

Rutland Railroad Company, director;

St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;

Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;

Standard Trust Company, The, director;

Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;

Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;

Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;

Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;

Toluca Electric Light and Power Company, director;

Utica and Black River Railroad, director;

Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;

West Shore Railroad, director;
 Western Transit Company, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director.

A. E. ORR:

Associated Merchants' Company, The, director;
 Bond and Mortgage Guarantee Company, director;
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, The, director;
 Continental Insurance Company, director;
 Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Federal Insurance Company, director;
 Fidelity and Casualty Company, The, director;
 Greenwood Cemetery, trustee;
 Harper & Brothers, director;
 Long Island Historical Society, president and director;
 Mechanics' National Bank, vice-president and director;
 New York Life Insurance Company, president and trustee;
 New York Produce Exchange, Safe Deposit and Storage Company, The, trustee;
 Queen Insurance Company of America, director;
 Realty Associates, director;
 United States Trust Company, trustee;

OLIVER H. PAYNE:

The American Tobacco Company, director;
 The Chase National Bank, director;
 Chihuahua and Pacific Railroad Company, director;
 The Chihuahua Mining Company, director;
 Coal Creek Mining and Manufacturing Company, director;
 Croesus Gold Mining and Milling Company, director;
 Great Northern Paper Company, director;
 Havana Tobacco Company, director;
 Interlake Pulp and Paper Company, director;
 International Railway Company, director;
 International Traction Company, director;
 Manhattan Trust Company, director;
 New York Loan and Improvement Company, vice-president and director;
 Standard Oil Cloth Company, director; and
 Virginia and Southeastern Railway Company, director;

DANIEL G. REID:

American Can Company, director;
 Astor Trust Company, director;
 Bankers' Trust Company, director;
 Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago and Eastern Illinois Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Continental Insurance Company, director;
 Evansville and Indianapolis Railway, vice-president and director;
 Evansville and Terre Haute Railroad Company, vice-president and director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Keokuk and Des Moines Railroad Company, vice-president and director;
 Liberty National Bank, vice-president and director;
 St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director;
 National Bank of Commerce, Denver, Colo., director;
 The Rock Island Company, director;
 Second National Bank, Richmond, Ind., director;
 Union National Bank, Richmond, Ind., director; and
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER:

American Linseed Company, director;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
 Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, director;
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and
 The University of Chicago, trustee;

H. H. ROGERS:

Amalgamated Copper Company, president and director;
 Anaconda Copper Mining Company, vice-president and trustee;

Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;
 Atlantic Coast Electric Railway, vice-president and director;
 Atlas Tack Company, director;
 Brooklyn Union Gas Company, vice-president and director;
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;
 Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, The, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Mutual Fire Insurance Company, of New York, The, trustee;
 National Bank of Fairhaven, director;
 National Fuel Gas Company, president and director;
 National Transit Company, president and director;
 New Jersey and Staten Island Ferry Company, director;
 New York Transit Company, president and director;
 Richmond Light and Railroad Company, president and director;
 Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, vice-president and director;
 Staten Island Ferry Company, director;
 Staten Island Midland Railway Company, director;
 Tennessee Copper Company, director;
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, vice-president and director; and
 United States Steel Corporation, director;

JAMES SPEYER:

Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
 Banco Mexicano de Comercio e Industria, director;
 Central Trust Company of New York, trustee;
 Citizens' Savings and Trust Company, Cleveland, director;
 General Chemical Company, director;
 German Savings Bank, trustee;
 Girard Trust Company, Philadelphia, member of board of managers;
 Guaranty Trust Company of New York, director;
 Industrial Trust Company, Providence, R. I., director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Manhattan Company, director;
 Maryland Trust Company, Baltimore, director;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of London and Edinburgh, director in United States;
 North British and Mercantile Insurance Company of New York, director;
 Provident Loan Society of New York, The, president and trustee;
 Rock Island Company, The, director;
 Societe Financiere Franco-Americaine, The, vice-president and director;
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, trustee;
 Underground Electric Railways Company of London (Limited), The, director; and
 Union Trust Company of New York, trustee;

CHARLES STEEL:

Adams Express Company, The, member board of managers;
 Adams Land and Building Company, director;
 Alabama Great Southern Railroad Company, director;
 Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company, The, director;
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
 Buffalo Creek Railroad, president and director;
 Central of Georgia Railway Company, director;
 Central Railroad of New Jersey, The, director;
 Chicago and Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago, Indianapolis and Louisville Railway Company, director;
 Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railway Company, director;
 Erie and Jersey Railroad Company, director;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 General Electric Company, director;
 Gulf, Colorado and Santa Fe Railway Company, director;
 International Harvester Company, director;
 International Mercantile Marine Company, The, director;
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;
 Lehigh Valley Railway Company, The, director;
 National Storage Company, director;
 National Tube Company, director;
 New Jersey and New York Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Susquehanna and Western Railroad Company, director;
 New York Telephone Company, director;
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;

Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, director;
 Santa Fe, Prescott and Phoenix Railway Company, director;
 Southern Railway Company, director;
 Standard Trust Company, director;
 Toledo and Ohio Central Railway Company, director;
 United States Steel Corporation, director; and
 Wilkes-Barre and Eastern Railroad Company, The, director;

CHARLES M. SCHWAB:

Bethlehem Steel Company, director;
 Bethlehem Steel Corporation, president and board of directors;
 Carnegie Steel Company, director;
 Chicago Pneumatic Tool Company, director;
 Clyde Steamship Company, director;
 Elgin, Joliet and Eastern Railway Company, director;
 Empire Trust Company, director;
 Greenwater Copper Mines and Smelter Company, director;
 H. C. Frick Coke Company, director;
 Minnesota Iron Company, director;
 Montgomery-Shoshone Consolidated Mining Company, director;
 National Bank of North America, director;
 National Tube Company, Ohio, director;
 National Tube Works Company, director; and
 United States Realty and Improvement Company, director;

H. M'K. TWOMBLEY:

Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;
 Carthage, Watertown and Sacketts Harbor Railroad Company, director;
 Central New England Railway Company, director;
 Central Railroad of New Jersey, The, director;
 Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company, director;
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 Chicago, Indiana and Southern Railroad, director;
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, director;
 Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, director;
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Columbus, Hope and Greensburg Railroad, director;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
 Detroit and Chicago Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;
 Dunkirk, Allegheney Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Fall Brook Railway, director;
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;
 Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company, director;
 Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, director;
 Mahoning Coal Railway Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railroad Company, director;
 Monongahela Railroad Company, director;
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 New York Central, Niagara River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York Junction Railroad Company, director;
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, The, director;
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;
 Newport Trust Company, director;
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;
 Northern Ohio Railway Company, director;
 Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, director;
 Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, director;

Pine Creek Railway Company, director;
 Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Reading Company, director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack; Railway Company, director;
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;
 Terminal Railway Company, of Buffalo, director;
 Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;
 Wallkill Valley Railroad, director;
 West Shore Railroad, director; and
 Western Transit Company, director.

F. W. VANDERBILT:

American Horse Exchange (Limited), director;
 Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;
 Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;
 Canada Southern Railway Company, director;
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;
 Carthage, Watertown and Sacket Harbor Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company, director;
 Clearfield Bituminous Coal Corporation, director;
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company, member board of managers;
 Detroit and Bay City Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit and Chicago Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburgh Railroad Company, director;
 Elkhart and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;
 Kalamazoo and White Pigeon Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad Company, The, director;
 Lincoln Safe Deposit Company, The, director;
 Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad, director;
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Tunnel Company, director;
 New York Central Niagara River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, director;
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;
 Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;
 Niagara River Bridge Company, director;
 Northern Central Michigan Railroad Company, director;
 Ottawa and New York Railway Company, director;
 Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Pittsburgh, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad Company, director;
 Pullman Company, director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 Shenango Valley Railway Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack; Railway Company, director;
 Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;
 Sturgis, Goshen and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Swan Creek Railway Company, director;
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;.

Terminal Railway of Buffalo, director;
 Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;
 Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director; and
 West Shore Railroad Company, director;

W. K. VANDERBILT:

American Horse Exchange (Limited), president and director;
 Beech Creek Railroad Company, director;
 Buffalo Erie Basin Railroad Company, director;
 Buffalo, Thousand Islands and Portland Railroad, director;
 Canada Southern Bridge Company, director;
 Carthage and Adirondack Railway Company, director;
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Chicago and State Line Railroad Company, director;
 Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Detroit and Bay City Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit and Chicago Railway Company, director;
 Detroit, Monroe and Toledo Railroad Company, director;
 Detroit River Tunnel Company, director;
 Dunkirk, Allegheny Valley and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;
 Elkhart and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Fort Wayne, Cincinnati and Louisville Railroad Company, director;
 Gouverneur and Oswegatchie Railroad Company, director;
 Hudson River Bridge Company, director;
 Jersey River and Bayonne Railroad Company, director;
 Joliet and Northern Indiana Railroad, director;
 Jackson Coal Railroad Company, director;
 Kalamazoo and White Pigeon Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie and Western Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Coal Company, director;
 Lake Erie, Alliance and Wheeling Railroad Company, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, director;
 Mahoning Coal Railroad Company, director;
 Michigan Central Railroad Company, director;
 Michigan Midland and Canada Railroad Company, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 New Jersey Junction Railroad Company, director;
 New Jersey Shore Line Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Fort Lee Railroad Company, director;
 New York and Harlem Railroad Company, president and director;
 New York and Northern Railway Company, director;
 New York Central Niagara River Railroad Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 New York State Realty and Terminal Company, The, director;
 Niagara Falls Branch Railroad, director;
 New York and Ottawa Railway Company, director;
 New York and Putnam Railroad Company, director;
 New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, director;
 Niagara Grand Island Bridge Company, director;
 Niagara River Bridge Company, director;
 Northern Central Michigan Railroad Company, director;
 Northern Ohio Railway Company, director;
 Pine Creek Railway, director;
 Pittsburg and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Pittsburg, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Railroad Company, director;
 Pullman Company, The, director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 St. Clair and Western Railroad Company, director;
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director;
 Shenango Valley Railway Company, director;
 Spuyten Duyvil and Port Morris Railroad Company, director;
 Sturgis, Goshen and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 Swan Creek Railway Company, director;
 Syracuse, Geneva and Corning Railway Company, director;
 Terminal Company of Buffalo, director;

Tivoli Hollow Railroad, director;
 Toledo, Canada Southern and Detroit Railway Company, director;
 Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway Company, director;
 Wallkill Valley Railroad Company, director;
 West Shore Railroad, director; and -?
 Western Transit Company, director;

HENRY WALTERS:

Atlanta and West Point Railroad Company, director;
 Atlantic Coast Line Company, The, chairman board of directors;
 Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Belt Line Railway Company, The (Montgomery, Ala.), director;
 Charlestown and Western Carolina Railway Company, vice-president and director;
 Chesapeake Steamship Company, director;
 Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;
 Columbia, Newberry and Laurens Railroad Company, director;
 Cuba Company, The, director;
 Fort Worth and Denver City Railway Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, chairman board of directors;
 Milledgeville Railway Company, director;
 Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis Railway Company, director;
 New York Shipbuilding Company, director;
 Northern Central Railway Company, director;
 Northwestern Railroad Company, of South Carolina, director;
 Old Dominion Steamship Company, director;
 Richmond-Washington Company, director;
 Safe Deposit and Trust Company, Baltimore, vice-president and director;
 Southern Cotton Oil Company, director;
 Virginia-Carolina Chemical Company, director;
 Washington Southern Railway Company, director;
 Western Railway of Alabama, director;
 Western Union Telegraph Company, The, director; and
 Wilmington Savings and Trust Company (Wilmington, N. C.), president and director.

JOHN I. WATERBURY:

Manhattan Trust Company, president and director;
 Alliance Assurance Company of London, trustee in United States;
 American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;
 Audit Company of New York, The, director;
 Chase National Bank, The, director;
 International Mercantile Marine Company, The, director;
 Louisville and Nashville Railroad Company, director; and
 Norfolk and Southern Railway Company, director.

W. S. WEBB:

Addison Railroad, director;
 Carthage, Watertown and Sackets Harbor Railroad, director;
 Central Vermont Railway Company, director;
 City Trust Company, director;
 Commercial Cable Company, The, director;
 Fitchburg Railroad Company, director;
 Fulton Chain Railroad Company, president and director;
 Fulton Navigation Company, president and director;
 Honduras Syndicate, director;
 Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway Company, The, director;
 Mohawk and Malone Railway Company, director;
 National Life Insurance Company, director;
 Pullman Company, The, director;
 Raquette Lake Railway Company, president and director;
 Rutland Railroad Company, director;
 Rutland Transit Company, director; and
 St. Lawrence and Adirondack Railway Company, director.

E. F. C. YOUNG:

President and director, Joseph Dixon Crucible Company;
 A. A. Griffing Iron Company, director;
 Acker Process Company, vice-president and director;
 American Graphite Company, president and director;
 Bankers' Trust Company, director;

Bayonne Trust Company, director;
 Bergen and La Fayette Trust Company, The, director;
 Bowling Green Trust Company, director;
 Brooklyn Annex, director;
 Colonial Life Insurance Company of America, The, first vice-president and director;
 First National Bank of Jersey City, president and director;
 Hudson and Manhattan Railroad Company, director;
 Liberty National Bank, The, director;
 New Jersey Title Guarantee and Trust Company, first vice-president and director;
 Hudson County Gas Company, president and director;
 Liberty National Bank, The, director;
 New Jersey Title Guarantee and Trust Company, first vice-president and director;
 North Jersey Land Company, president and director;
 Pavonia Trust Company, The, president and director;
 Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York Railroad Company, director;
 People's Safe Deposit and Trust Company, Jersey City, director;
 Public Service Corporation of New Jersey, director;
 Shooter Island Shipyard Company, director;
 Trust Company of New Jersey, Hoboken, vice-president and director; and
 West Hudson County Trust Company, Harrison, N. J., director;

J. O. ARMOUR:

Armour & Co., president and director;
 Armour Car Lines, director;
 Armour Grain Company, director;
 Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company, director;
 Continental National Bank, director;
 Fort Worth Stock Yards Company, president and director;
 G. H. Hammond Company, director;
 Hammond Packing Company, director;
 Hutchinson Packing Company, director;
 National Packing Company, director;
 Northwestern National Fire Insurance Company, director;
 Omaha Packing Company, director;
 Prussian National Insurance Company of Stettin, American trustee; and
 United States Leather Company, director;

CHARLES DAWES:

Calumet Insurance Company of Illinois, director;
 Central Trust Company of Illinois, president and director; and
 Monroe National Bank, director.

JAMES H. ECKELS (DECEASED):

Allis-Chalmers Company, director;
 American Surety Company of New York, director;
 Audit Company of New York, member western board of control;
 Bankers' Trust Company, New York City, director;
 Chicago Union Traction Company, treasurer and director;
 Commercial National Bank, president and director;
 Commercial National Safe Deposit Company, director;
 Hewitt Manufacturing Company, vice-president and director;
 Lake View Trust and Savings Bank, director;
 Oakland National Bank, director; and
 Young Men's Christian Association, of Chicago, The, trustee.

JAMES B. FORGAN:

American Radiator Company, director;
 Audit Company of New York, member western board of control;
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, The, director;
 Chicago Title and Trust Company, director;
 Equitable Life Assurance Company of the United States, The, director;
 Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland, director;
 First National Bank, Chicago, president and director;
 First Trust and Savings Bank, president and director;
 Guarantee Company of North America, The, director;
 Metropolitan West Side Elevated Railway Company, The, director; and
 National Safe Deposit Company, president and director.

J. J. MITCHELL:

American Surety Company, of New York, trustee;
 Audit Company of New York, The, vice-president, chairman western board of control, and member of advisory committee;
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, director;
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago Edison Company, director;
 Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Commonwealth Electric Company, director;
 Economy Light and Power Company of Joliet, director;
 First National Bank of New York, director;
 Illinois Trust and Savings Bank, president and director;
 Illinois Trust and Safety Deposit Company, director;
 Kansas City Southern Railway Company, director;
 Lackawanna Steel Company, director;
 New York Trust Company of New York, director;
 Northwestern Elevated Railroad Company, voting trustee;
 Frank Parmelee Company, The, director;
 Pullman Company, The, director;
 Rock Island Company, director;
 Union Elevated Railroad Company, director;
 United States Brewing Company of Chicago, director; and
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director.

NORMAN B. REAM:

American Trust and Savings Bank, The, director;
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company, director;
 Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, Brooklyn, director;
 Central Safety Deposit Company, vice-president and director;
 Chicago and Alton Railway Company, director,
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad Company, director;
 Chicago Union Transfer Railway Company, director;
 Colorado and Southern Railway Company, director;
 Erie Railroad Company, director;
 First National Bank of Chicago, director;
 First Trust and Savings Bank, director;
 Guaranty Trust Company, New York, director;
 International Harvester Company, director;
 Metropolitan Trust Company, director;
 Mount Hope Cemetery Association, director;
 National Biscuit Company, director;
 National Safe Deposit Company, director;
 New York Life Insurance Company, trustee;
 New York Trust Company, director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;
 Pullman Company, The, director;
 Reliance Company, The, director;
 Seaboard Air Line System, director;
 Securities Company, director; and
 United States Steel Corporation, director.

L. F. SWIFT:

Hollis Cold Storage Company, director;
 Illinois Cattle Company, director;
 Libby, McNeill & Libby, director;
 Mechanical Manufacturing Company, president and director;
 National Bank of the Republic, director;
 National Leather Company, director;
 National Packing Company, director;
 North Packing and Provision Company, director;
 St. Louis National Stock Yards Company, director;
 South San Francisco Land and Improvement Company, president and director;
 Springfield Provision Company, director;
 State Bank of Lake Forest, Ill., director;
 Stock Yards Bank, East St. Louis, director;
 Stock Yards Savings Bank, Chicago, director;
 Swift & Co., president and director;
 Swift Fertilizer Works, director; and
 Western Meat Company, president and director.

OLIVER AMES:

American Bonding Company, of Baltimore, member advisory board;
 Ames Plow Company, president and director;

Ames Shovel and Tool Company, director;
 Ames Shovel and Tool Company of Texas, vice president and director;
 Cabot Manufacturing Company, director;
 Chicago and Northwestern Railway Company, director;
 Easton Investment Company, vice-president, director and treasurer;
 Electric Corporation, director;
 First National Bank of Easton, Mass., vice-president and director;
 Fisher Manufacturing Company, president and director;
 General Electric Company, director;
 H. M. Myers Company, The, director;
 Kinsley Iron and Machine Company, president and director;
 Mercantile Trust Company of New York, director;
 Metropolitan Storage Warehouse Company, president and director;
 Mutual District Messenger Company of Boston, director;
 National Shawmut Bank, director;
 North Easton Savings Bank, trustee;
 Old Colony Trust Company, director;
 Oliver Ames & Sons Corporation, vice-president, treasurer and director;
 Oregon Short Line Railroad Company, director;
 Provident Institution for Savings, trustee;
 St. Louis Shovel Company, director;
 Security Safe Deposit Company, director;
 Union Copper Mining Company, president and director;
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;
 Washington Mills Emery Manufacturing Company, president and director;
 Western Union Telegraph Company, director; and
 Wright Shovel Company, vice-president and director.

T. JEFFERSON COOLIDGE:

American Bell Telephone Company, director;
 American Trust Company, president and director;
 American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;
 Bay State Trust Company, president and director;
 Boston Elevated Railway Company, director;
 Edison Electric Illuminating Company, of Boston, director;
 General Electric Company, director;
 Georgia Railway and Electric Company, director;
 Lawrence Manufacturing Company, director;
 National Bank of Commerce, vice-president and director;
 Old Colony Trust Company, chairman of directors;
 Seaboard Air Line Railway, voting trustee and director;
 Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, trustee;
 Underground Electric Railways Company, of London (Limited), director; and
 Western Telephone and Telegraph Company, director.

H. L. HIGGINSON:

American Smelting and Refining Company, director;
 American Writing Paper Company, vice-president and director;
 Campobello Island Company, director;
 Eastern Audit Company, director;
 Ganley Coal Land Company, president and director;
 General Electric Company, director;
 Granby Consolidated Mining, Smelting and Power Company (Limited), director;
 National Shawmut Bank, director;
 New Boston Music Hall, president and director;
 New York Exploration Company, director;
 Provident Institution for Savings, vice-president and trustee;
 Smuggler Union Mining Company, vice-president and director;
 Submarine Signal Company, president and director; and
 Worcester, Nashua and Rochester Railway Company, director.

NATHANIEL THAYER:

American Bell Telephone Company, director;
 American Telephone and Telegraph Company, director;
 Bay State Trust Company, director;
 Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yards Company, vice-president and director;
 City Trust Company, director;
 Cushing Real Estate Trust, trustee;

Eastern Kentucky Railway Company, president and director;
 Guarantee Company of North America, The, director;
 Hamilton Woolen Company, president and director;
 Kansas City Stock Yards Company of Missouri, director;
 Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, director;
 Merchants' National Bank, director;
 Municipal Real Estate Trust, trustee;
 New England Trust Company, director;
 New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, director;
 Old Colony Railroad Company, director;
 Old Colony Steamboat Company, director;
 Old Colony Trust Company, director;
 Pere Marquette Railroad Company, director;
 St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad Company, director;
 St. Marys Mineral Land Company, president and director;
 Suffolk Savings Bank for Seamen and Others, trustee; and
 United States Steel Company, director.

THOMAS DOLAN:

The United Gas Improvement Company, president;
 Fidelity Trust Company, director;
 Finance Company of Pennsylvania, director;
 The Electric Storage Battery Company, director;
 Philadelphia Electric Company, director;
 Cresson and Clearfield Coal and Coke Company, director; and
 Welsbach Company, director.

P. A. B. WIDENER.

Cresson and Clearfield Coal and Coke Company, vice-president and director;
 Land Title and Trust Company, director;
 The Electric Storage Battery Company, director;
 Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, director; and
 Union Traction Company, director.

E. H. GARY:

United States Steel Corporation, chairman;
 American Land Company, director;
 Pittsburg, Bessemer and Lake Erie Railroad Company, director;
 Carnegie Steel Company, director;
 American Steel and Wire Company of New Jersey, director and
 National Tube Company, director.

SAMUEL REA:

Allegheny Heating Company, acting vice-president;
 Allegheny Valley Railway Company, vice-president; and
 Chartiers Railway Company, director.

A. J. CASSATT (DECEASED):

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, president and director;
 Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington Railroad Company, president and director;
 The Northern Central Railroad Company, president;
 West Jersey and Seashore Railroad Company, president and director;
 The Philadelphia National Bank, director;
 Commercial Trust Company, director;
 Fidelity Trust Company, director;
 The Western Saving Fund Society of Philadelphia, manager;
 The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, director;
 Manhattan Trust Company (New York), director; and
 Mercantile Trust Company (New York), director.

E. B. MORRIS:

Girard Trust Company, president and manager;
 The Philadelphia Savings Fund Society, manager;
 The Philadelphia National Bank, director;
 Franklin National Bank, director;
 Fourth Street National Bank, director;
 Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Company, director;
 The Mutual Assurance Company, trustee;
 Commercial Trust Company, director;
 The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, director;
 Pennsylvania Company (Western lines of Pennsylvania Railroad), director;
 Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;

The Pennsylvania Steel Company, director;
 Maryland Steel Company, director;
 Spanish-American Iron Company, director;
 Cambria Steel Company, chairman and director;
 Cambria Iron Company, director;
 Mahoning Ore and Steel Company;
 Latrobe Steel and Coupler Company, director;
 The Keystone Watch Case Company, director;
 Penn Traffic Company, director;
 Estate of Anthony J. Drexel, trustee;
 Estate of Asa Packer, trustee;
 Estate of William Bingham, trustee; and
 Estate of John Gilber, trustee.

JOHN S. KENNEDY:

Albany and Susquehanna Railroad, director;
 Central Trust Company, trustee;
 Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company, director;
 Cleveland and Pittsburg Railroad Company, director;
 Hudson Trust Company of New Jersey, director;
 Manhattan Company, director;
 New York, Chicago and St. Louis Railroad Company, director;
 Northern Pacific Railway Company, director;
 Northern Securities Company, vice-president and director;
 Provident Loan Society of New York, The, trustee;
 Title Guarantee and Trust Company, The, trustee; and
 United States Trust Company, trustee;.

WILLIAM G. ROCKEFELLER:

Brooklyn Union Gas Company, director;
 Columbia Bank, director;
 Lincoln National Bank of the City of New York, director;
 National Fuel Gas Company, director; and
 Union Pacific Railroad Company, director;

DUMONT CLARKE:

American Exchange National Bank, president and director;
 Adams Express Company, member board of managers;
 Algoma Central and Hudson Bay Railway, director;
 American Beet Sugar Company, director;
 American Felt Company, director;
 Audit Company of New York, The, director;
 Caledonia Insurance Company, Edinburgh, trustee;
 Commercial Cable Company, The, director;
 Commercial Cable Company of Cuba, director;
 Delaware and Hudson Company, The, member of board of managers;

Federal Sugar Refining Company, treasurer and director;
 Fidelity and Casualty Company, The, director;
 Home Insurance Company, director;
 Lake Superior Corporation, The, director;
 Lawyers' Title Insurance and Trust Company, The, director;
 Little Falls and Dolgeville Railroad, director;
 Long Island Consolidated Electrical Companies, The, director;
 Long Island Railroad Company, director;
 Mackay Companies, The, trustee;
 Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York, The, trustee;
 New York, Brooklyn and Manhattan Beach Railway Company, director;

New York Clearing-House Building Company, director;
 Norfolk and Southern Railway Company, director;
 Orange National Bank, director;
 Press Publishing Company, trustee;
 Swift & Co., director;
 United States Mortgage and Trust Company, director;
 United States Safe Deposit Company, director;
 Vacuum Cleaner Company, director; and
 Washington Life Insurance Company, The, director;

W. A. CLARK:

American Stone Company, president and director;
 Black Butte Coal Mining Company, president and director;
 Butte Electric Railway Company, president and director;
 Clark Coal Company, president and director;
 Clark-Montana Realty Company, president and director;

Colusa-Parrot Mining and Smelting Company, president and director;

Empire Cattle Company, president and director;

Henry Bonnard Bronze Company, vice-president and director;

Herald Publishing Company (Salt Lake City), president and director;

John Caplice Company, director;

Las Vegas and Tonopah Railroad Company, director;

Los Alamitos Sugar Company, president and director;

Los Cerritos Company, president and director;

Mayflower Consolidated Mining Company, director;

Mayflower Mining Company, president and director;

Miner Publishing Company (Butte, Mont.), director;

Missoula Light and Water Company, director;

Missouri River Power Company, director;

Montana Hardware Company, director;

Montana Land Company, president and director;

Moulton Mining Company, president and director;

Natural Mineral Water Company, president and director;

Nevada First National Bank of Tonopah, director;

Ophir Hill Consolidated Mining Company, president and director;

Original Consolidated Mining Company, president and director;

Original Mining Company, president and director;

Pyrenees Gold and Silver Company, president and director;

San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, president and director;

Sunset Mining Company, president and director;

T. F. Miller Company (Jerome, Ariz.), director;

United Verde and Pacific Railway Company, president and director;

United Verde Copper Company, president and director;

Utah Realty Company, director;

W. A. Clark & Bro., president and director;

W. A. Clark Realty Company, president and director;

W. A. Clark Wire Company, president and director;

West Mayflower Mining Company, director;

Western Lumber Company, president and director; and

Western Montana Flouring Company, president and director.

CHAPTER IX.

THE WOMAN MOVEMENT.

By May Wood-Simons.

The Socialist parties of the world have always stood for the political and economic equality of woman. The demand for political equality for woman is, with that organization, something more than a beautiful ideal of what may be accomplished in the far future. It is a vital part of the platform for which active agitation is carried on. The Socialist party recognizes that if any body of individuals is governed by laws in which they have not themselves had a part in the making that that body is a slave people. For that reason women who neither vote, elect their representatives, or make the laws that determine their political, social and industrial conditions are slaves.

The movement for the suffrage for women has today behind it a new force that is the result of the change in the industrial condition of women. Industries that have always been confined to the home have, through the growth of the factory system been removed to the factories and along with this change women have gone into the factories and are today taking their place beside men in the industrial world. Because these women do not possess the ballot they are used by their employers to force down the wages of the men with whom they work.

In the investigation made by the Bureau of Labor of conditions in seventy-five industries it was found that men for the same work and the same degree of efficiency received 50 per cent more as wages than the women. Women in the industrial field must have the ballot as a protection. It is because the Socialist party recognizes this that it demands the ballot for women.

Mothers in the home must possess the ballot. They have no part in making the laws under which their children must live. They, better than anyone else, know the dangers to which children and youth are exposed, and should have an opportunity to formulate the laws that will protect children. Laws governing housing and pure food also are of equal interest to mothers. The child of a slave mother in slavery days was a slave. So the child of a political slave mother today cannot escape the influence of being reared by an inferior mother.

It is objected that if women were given the right to vote they would thereby be demoralized. This is an argument that is most often heard from the employing class and echoed by women of that class. These same men who are so disturbed by visions of women being demoralized by going to the ballot box have nothing to say when women are forced together with men into factories and compelled to do the hardest and most menial tasks.

That will be the ablest woman, wife and mother who

has the broadest grasp of political and industrial questions and is able to take part in the governing of the community of which she is a part.

Socialism as a political movement is based on economic conditions.

We have seen to what extent women have become an economic factor, how that equally with men she is exploited by the ruling class, and that in no way does she as a wage earner differ from the working man.

In but one place is there being an intelligent effort made to secure equal rights for women and men. That is in the Socialist movement. This movement stands for a condition in which classes on an economic basis cannot exist. It does not demand special privileges for the laborer—only equal opportunity for all, and that all shall be required to work for what they receive. As said by Liebknecht today, "Riches are the portion of the idle, poverty the reward of the worker."

Woman has an active part in this proletarian movement. She is still unlearned in social matters, has little conception of the present step in industrial evolution and has failed to take her part in the guiding of its development.

This lack of active part in the social development is the result partially of a psychological condition among women that has arisen from her economic position.

Her ideas have been confined to the home, family or relatives. She has scarce ever been broad enough to reach beyond into the neighborhood, never into the greater social world or to unborn generations.

Many of our workingwomen, far behind the body of workingmen, have not a glimmer that a social question exists. This movement emphasizes the preparation of the workers to take an intelligent part in the co-operative commonwealth. The measure of the advance of civilization or society lies not in the culture or education of a class or sex, or in the number or completeness of material inventions, but in the quality with which these things are distributed and within the reach of all. The economic quality of woman can be accomplished only through the economic liberation of the working class.

Already the laboring men, conscious of their interests, are organizing themselves in the Socialist movement.

They have behind them the experience of years spent in political struggles and trade unions.

The time is ripe for the laboring women to unite with the laboring men in this struggle for economic freedom.

That the declarations of the Socialist party on woman's economic and political equality are not a dead letter is shown by the work already accomplished.

At the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart in 1907 the following resolution, which defines the position of the Socialist parties of the world on the question of woman's suffrage, was adopted by the congress:

"It is the duty of the Socialist parties of all coun-

tries to agitate strenuously for the introduction of universal womanhood suffrage. Hence the agitation for the democratization of the franchise and the legislative and administrative bodies, both national and local, must also embrace woman's suffrage, and must insist upon it, whether it be carried on in Parliament or elsewhere. In those countries where the democratization of manhood suffrage has already gone sufficiently far or is completely realized, the Socialist Parties must raise a campaign in favor of universal womanhood suffrage, and in connection with it put, of course, forward all those demands which we have yet to realize in the interest of the full civil rights of the male portion of the proletariat."

At the National Convention of the Socialist Party held in Chicago in May, 1908, the delegates of the convention, in accord with the resolution of the International Congress, elected a committee on women to formulate a plan for work among women, the work to be carried on directly under the supervision of the Socialist Party, its object being to secure women members of the party and emphasize the necessity of obtaining the ballot for women.

This committee reported the following to the national convention:

"The national committee of the Socialist Party has already provided for a special organizer and lecturer to work for equal civil and political rights in connection with the Socialist propaganda among women and their organization in the Socialist Party.

"This direct effort to secure the suffrage to women increases the party membership and opens a field of work entirely new in the American Socialist Party. That it has within it great possibilities and value for the party our comrades in Germany, Finland and other countries have abundantly demonstrated.

"The work of organization among women is much broader and more far-reaching than the mere arrangement of tours for speakers. It should consist of investigation and education among women and children, particularly those in the rank in or out of labor unions and to the publication of books, pamphlets and leaflets, especially adapted to this field of activity.

"To plan such activity requires experience that comes from direct contact with and absorbing interest in the distinct feature of woman's economic and social conditions and the problem arising therefrom.

"For this reason the committee hereby requests this convention to take definite action on this hitherto neglected question. We ask that it make provision to assist the Socialist women of the party in explaining and stimulating the growing interest in Socialism among women and to aid the women comrades in their efforts to bring the message of Socialism to the children of the proletariat we recommend the following:

"First. That a special committee of five be elected to care for and manage the work of organization among women.

"Second. That sufficient funds be supplied by the

party to that committee to maintain a woman organizer constantly in the field, as already voted.

"Third. That this committee co-operate directly with the national headquarters and be under the supervision of the national party.

"Fourth. That this committee be elected by this national convention, its members to consist not necessarily of delegates to this convention.

"Fifth. That all other moneys needed to carry on the work of the woman's committee outside of the maintenance of the special organizers be raised by the committee.

"Sixth. That during the campaign of 1908 the women appointed as organizers be employed in states now possessing the franchise."

In accordance with the report of the committee, which was accepted by the convention, a permanent committee of five was elected by the convention to act as a national committee on work among women.

This is the only committee on Socialist work among women that is working directly under the control and direction of the Socialist Party.

The National Women's Committee submitted the following recommendations for the approval of the executive committee of the Socialist Party:

"That an appeal for funds be made through the party bulletin and other Socialist publications, such funds to be used in the publication of leaflets for women."

The committee also recommended that Dr. Antoinette Konikow be appointed to report the work accomplished in foreign countries by the Socialist Party for suffrage, also those methods used in efforts to reach women with the Socialist propaganda.

It was further recommended that leaflets on "Work Done in Foreign Countries for Suffrage," "How the Suffrage and Socialism Will Affect Working Women," and "General Appeal to Women," be published.

The committee further recommended that Mrs. Mary S. Livingstone of Chicago and Dr. Antoinette Konikow of New York be instructed to investigate the condition of present Socialist Sunday schools and suggest plans for their extension and improvement.

The members of the National Women's Committee are:

Dr. Antoinette Konikow, New York.

Miss Stearn, New York.

Marguerita Prevey, 162 Main street, Akron, Ohio, Treasurer.

May Wood-Simons, Chicago, Chairman.

Winnie Brandstetter, Sec., Estancia, New Mexico.

The National Socialist Woman's Committee, in the meeting held directly after the close of the Socialist convention, decided that in each locality the Socialist work among women should be carried on as the conditions of the place demanded and according to general plans worked out by the National Woman's Committee.

Since the close of the Convention the women who are already members of the Socialist Party in Chicago,

San Francisco and other cities have begun active work to accomplish the objects that were put before them by the convention.

First. The securing of women members in the Socialist locals; second, the agitation for the franchise for women; third, the work of increasing the usefulness of the Socialist Sunday schools. The following plan already at work in Chicago may serve as a suggestion for work in other localities.

The work of securing women members for the party and increasing the attendance of women at the Socialist meetings is carried on systematically. Two women organizers for the city are now at work. They are devoting a large part of their time to visiting the families of Socialists, members of the party, in an effort to reach the wives, mothers and sisters of Socialist men; also women who have expressed any interest in Socialism, and will widen their visits yet further as the work is better organized.

In every ward they will endeavor to secure the aid of women who are already members of the party to carry on the work of house-to-house visits and distribution of literature in each ward. In the evening the organizers visit the various ward meetings and encourage the presence of other women. The organizers also arrange meetings at the homes of various comrades at which topics of especial interest to women workers are discussed. Thus far the results of the work have been very encouraging.

The work of agitation for the suffrage is also pushed energetically. One portion of the work consists of securing opportunities before all locals of the Socialist party to present the subject of the need of the ballot for women. Communications from the various ward organizations are received constantly asking for women speakers.

The women members of the party will also prepare and present to the next meeting of the state legislature a bill asking for the suffrage for women.

The campaign or the suffrage opened in Chicago with eight meetings held simultaneously on the streets by women of the Socialist party, assisted by Socialist men. In each ward where the meetings were held the ward organizations took charge of the meetings and lent every assistance to make them a success.

These meetings are held during the summer months every week at various points in the city and during the winter hall meetings take their place. It is believed that every city should begin such a series of meetings and that at the next session of the legislatures of the various states bills should be presented demanding the suffrage for women.

The third subject that should receive attention is the work of the Socialist Sunday schools. The training of teachers for new schools is essential.

In order to fill the constant requests that are being made for Sunday school lessons the lessons used in the Chicago Socialist Sunday school will be printed every week.

Recognizing the fact that a single line of work may tend to occupy the attention to the exclusion of equally important matters the women carrying on this work emphasize the importance of each woman keeping in the closest touch with her local and the local, state and national organization, and all political issues that may arise, and maintain her place as an active member of the Socialist organization. Further, all work being carried on is done in consultation with the party organization and for the purpose of increasing the strength and power of that organization.

The Question of Prostitution.

In the days of chattel slavery the black woman was regarded by her master as his personal victim. The modern industrial system has not changed the condition of the women of the economically dependent class. They are viewed by the master class today as the victims of the men of that class and treated as such.

The traffic in women has come to be one of the appalling phenomena that confronts every person who looks into the social conditions of today. The cause of the trade in girls, known as the white slave traffic, and of all prostitution rests upon an economic basis. There are two distinct phases of the question that should in no way be confused.

It has been shown often that in numerous industries women receive wages so low that they are not able to support themselves; that often these women have the added burden of supporting a relative, and that under such circumstances women to live at all are driven by the pressure of economic conditions to sell the only thing that remains to them, their virtue, since their labor power will not command enough to sustain life.

These women who are thus compelled to enter a life of prostitution through the necessity of securing a livelihood either for themselves or dependents are numbered by thousands and make up the first great class of those who through economic causes recruit the houses of prostitution.

William Stead, when he made an investigation of these conditions in Chicago, made the statement that he found a large per cent of those who lived in brothels were supporting through the wages thus earned either a mother or brother or younger sister.

A specific instance of this was investigated by the Daily Socialist. A young woman clerk in one of the State street department stores died through a criminal operation, and at the inquest it was shown that she had been attempting to care for her mother, a woman far advanced in years and almost totally deaf, and lived in a basement room, and finding that her six dollars a week was not sufficient to meet the expense had been forced to sell herself.

Low wages that compel women to lives of shame are notoriously common in department stores where there is no organization of either men or women to protect the wages of employes. Girls attempting to secure positions are told frequently by employing superintendents

that they are expected to secure support in some such way.

Two specific instances of this came under the observation of the Daily Socialist in its investigations of the State street stores.

It would be a rare individual who would take and maintain the proposition today that women recruit this work through their desire to do so. The average lease of life to those who enter this life according to a clergyman who had made an investigation of the subject on the west side of Chicago in the cheap dives with which certain localities there are filled is but two and one-half years.

Miss Johnson, for twenty-seven years a worker among the white slave victims, states that for all girls who are forced into this life the average length of life is but six years. Under these conditions girls do not voluntarily recruit this work.

This great body of women who are forced to traffic in their persons because of low wages is the larger portion of the class of women known as prostitutes.

The second source of recruiting the brothel is through a carefully organized system of decoying young girls and stealing them from their homes, known as the white slave traffic. This phase of the question has its distinctly economic side. These young girls are in various ways drawn away from their homes, many of them being mere children. Then through a system of agents who reap a tremendous profit off the trade they are bartered away and passed from one brothel to another.

Fortunes are made by the agents who carry on this trade. It was stated by a procuress in Vienna to Miss Johnson that she had made a fortune three times over through the girls she had secured and shipped to other countries. An English women procuress told the same authority that she received a large sum for every unsullied girl she could entice from home and ship to the United States.

This traffic is now an international matter. Because so many of these girls are stolen and forcibly taken from their homes, and because there is always the danger that their friends will discover their whereabouts and they will expose the workings of the system, the girls are almost always sent to other countries. Large numbers of American girls were found by Miss Johnson in Egypt and the far east—some of these mere children ten and eleven years old.

This traffic is now carried on over definitely marked routes. The difficulty of tracing these routes is at once evident, as all the work is done secretly. But in various foreign countries the routes by which girls are passed from one country to another have been fairly well traced. The difficulty of stating the number of girls who are thus sent from country to country is also at once evidently difficult. But it is estimated that they number many thousands per year.

Not only the agents who carry on this transfer of girls make a large profit on the human commodities they

sell, but the keepers of brothels are another class that reap a profit from this sale of woman flesh.

There is no way of making anything more than an estimate of the number of women who are living as prostitutes in the country. The most conservative estimate made for Chicago is that there are between ten and twenty thousand living in the various houses and walking the streets, and several thousand more who irregularly increase other wages through this means.

There is still another phase of the question of prostitution that has never been dwelt on to any extent. This is the wages of men. If there were no demand for women to sell themselves there would be no women prostitutes. They are a commodity that supplies a certain demand. This demand comes from two sources: From the men of the wealthy class who are able to victimize the women of the working class through their economic and political helplessness. There is still another source of the demand. That is from men whose wages will not permit a home. The wages of young men, especially in the department stores, is such that they are unable to support a family. These men frequent places where women are sold cheap.

The floorwalker in one of the largest State street department stores makes the statement that most of the men in the store are single men who live in lodging houses and are deprived through the smallness of their wages of having any home of their own. These men help to create a demand, and the white slave women who meet their demand are the lowest paid women in the work with the shortest lease of life.

The Socialist party is the only organization that faces the problem of prostitution and shows how it may be removed. Socialists claim that since the cause of prostitution and the sale of women is an economic one that it can only be stopped through a change in society that will make a woman economically independent of man whether that man be father, husband or employer.

When there no longer exists a ruling class, the men of which class can buy the women who are forced to sell their persons, when men are able to establish and maintain homes, when women secure political and economic equality that will give them equal pay for equal work, the question of prostitution will be solved.

Until such time as the Socialists are in control they advocate laws that will make it a criminal offense for men and women to engage in this traffic in young girls.

CHAPTER X.

CHILD SLAVERY.

[From *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, by John Spargo. Courtesy of The MacMillan Co.]

For nearly half a century rachitis, or "rickets," has been known as the disease of the children of the poor. It has been so called ever since Sir William Jenner noticed that after the first two births the children of the poor began to get rickety., and careful investigation showed that the cause was poverty, the mothers being generally too poor to get proper nourishment while nursing them. It is, perhaps, the commonest disease from which children of the working classes suffer. A large proportion of the children in the public schools and on the streets of the poorest quarters of our cities, and a majority of those treated at the dispensaries or admitted into the children's hospitals, are unmistakably victims of this disease. One sees them everywhere in the poor neighborhoods. The misshapen heads and the legs bent and twisted awry are unmistakable signs, and the scanty clothing covers pitiful little "pigeon-breasts." The small chests are narrowed and flattened from side to side, and the breast bones are forced unnaturally forward and outward. Tens of thousands of children suffer from this disease, which is due almost wholly to poor and inadequate food. Here again statistical records hide and imprison the soul of truth, failing to yield the faintest idea of the ravages of this disease. The number of deaths credited to it in 1900 was only 351 for the whole of the United States, whereas 10,000 would not have been too high a figure.

Seldom, if ever, fatal by itself, rickets is indirectly responsible for a tremendous quota of the infantile death-rate. In epidemics of such infectious diseases as measles, whooping cough and others, the rickety child falls an easy victim. In these diseases, as well as in bronchitis, pneumonia, convulsions, diarrhoea, and many other disorders, the mortality is far higher among rickety orders, the mortality is far higher among rickety children than among others. Nor do the evils of rachitis cease with childhood, but in later life they are unquestionably important and severe. There is no escape for the victim even though the storms of childhood be successfully weathered, but like some cruel, relentless Nemesis the consequences pursue the adult. The weakening of the constitution in infancy through poverty and underfeeding cannot be remedied, and epilepsy and tuberculosis find easy prey among those whose childhood had lain upon it the curse of poverty in the form of rickets.

An epidemic of measles spreads over the great city. Silently and mysteriously it enters and, unseen, touches a single child in the street or the school, and the result is as the touch of the blazing torch to dry stubble and straw;

only it is not stubble but the nation's heart, its future citizenry, that is attacked. From child to child, home to home, street to street, the epidemic spreads; mansion and tenement are alike stricken, and the city is engaged in a fierce battle against the foe which assails its children. In the tenement districts doctors and nurses hurry through the sun-scorched streets and wearily climb the long flights of stairs hour after hour, day after day; in the districts where the rich live, doctors drive in their carriages to the mansions, and nurses tread noiselessly in and out of the sick rooms. Rich and poor alike struggle against the foe, but it is only in the homes of the poor that there is no hope in the struggle; only there that the doctors can say no comforting words of assurance. When the battle is over and the victims are numbered, there is rejoicing in the mansion and bitter, poignant sorrow in the tenement. For poor children are practically the only ones ever to die from measles. Nature starts all her children equally, rich and poor, but the evil conditions of poverty create and foster vast inequalities of opportunity to live and flourish.

Dr. Henry Ashby, an eminent authority upon children's diseases, says: "In healthy children among the well-to-do class the mortality (from measles) is practically nil; in the tubercular and wasted children to be found in workhouses, hospitals, and among the lower classes the mortality is enormous, no disease more certainly being attended with a fatal result. William Squire places it in crowded wards at 20 to 30 per cent of those attacked. Among dispensary patients the mortality generally amounts to 9 or 10 per cent. In our own dispensary, during the six years, 1880-1885, 1,395 cases were treated with 128 deaths, making a mortality of 9 per cent. Of the fatal cases 73 per cent were under two years of age and 9 per cent under six months of age."

These are terrible words coming as they do from a great physician and teacher of physicians. Upon any less authority one would scarcely dare quote them, so terrible are they. They mean that practically the whole 8,645 infant deaths recorded from measles in the United States in the year 1900 were due to poverty—to the measureless inequality of opportunity to live and grow which human ignorance and greed have made.

The employment of the mother is responsible for numerous evils of underfeeding, improper feeding and neglect. She works from early morn till night, pausing only twice or thrice a day to snatch a hasty meal of bread and coffee with the children. Her pay varies with the kind of work she does, from one and a half to ten cents an hour. Ordinarily she will work from twelve to fourteen hours daily, but sometimes, when the work has to be finished and delivered by a fixed time, she may work sixteen, eighteen or even twenty hours at a stretch. And then there are the "waiting days," when work is slack, and hunger, or fear of hunger, weighs heavily upon her and crushes her down. Hard is her lot, for when she works there is food, but little time for eating and none for cooking or the care of her children; when there is no work there is time enough, but little food.

In Brooklyn, in a rear tenement in the heart of that huge labyrinth of bricks and mortar near the Great Bridge, such a mother lives and struggles against poverty and the Great White Plague. She is an American, born of American parents, and her husband is also native born but of Scotch parentage. He is a laborer, and when at work earns \$1.75 per day, but partly owing to frequent recurring sickness and partly also to the difficulty of obtaining employment, it is doubtful whether his wages average \$6 a week the year through. Of six children born only two are living, their ages being seven years and two and a half years respectively. Both are rickety and weak and stunted in appearance. As she sat upon her bed sewing, only pausing to cough when the plague seemed to choke her, she told her story: "It's awful," she said, "but I must work else we shall get nothing to eat and be turned into the street besides. I have no time for anything but work. I must work, work, work, and work. Often we go to our beds as we left them when I haven't time or strength to shake them up, and Joe, my husband, is too tired or sick to do it. Cooking? Oh, I cook nothing, for I haven't time; I must work. I send the little girl out to the store across the way and she gets what she can—crackers, cake, cheese, anything she can get—and I'm thankful if I can only make some fresh tea." Neither of this woman's two little children has ever known the experience of being decently fed, and their weak, rickety bodies tell the results. From a bare account of their diet it might be inferred that the mother must be ignorant or neglectful, but she is, on the contrary, a most intelligent woman and devoted to her children. Under better conditions she would, perhaps, have been a model housewife and mother, but it is not within the possibilities of her toil-worn, hunger-wasted body to be these and at the same time a wage earner. So, without attempting to minimize the part which ignorance plays, it is well to emphasize the fact, so often lost sight of and forgotten, that what appears to be ignorance or neglect is very frequently only poverty in one of its many disguises.

As a contributory cause of excessive mortality and sickness among young children, the employment of mothers away from their homes is even more important. There is no longer any serious dispute upon that point, though twenty-five years ago it was the subject of a good deal of vigorous controversy on both sides of the Atlantic. Professor Jevons thoroughly established his claim that the employment of mothers and the ensuing neglect of their infants is a serious cause of infantile mortality and disease. So important did he consider the question to be that he strenuously advocated the enactment of legislation forbidding the employment of mothers until their youngest children were at least three years old. When one who is familiar with the facts considers all that the employment of mothers involves, it is difficult to imagine how its evil effects upon the children could ever have been questioned. In too many cases the toil continues through the most critical periods of pregnancy; the infants are weaned early in order that the mother may return to her employment, and placed in charge of some

other person—often a mere child, inexperienced and ignorant. These “little mothers” have been much praised and idealized until we have become prone to forget that their very existence is a great social menace and crime. It is true that many of them show a wonderful amount of courage and precocity in dealing with the babies intrusted to their care. But in praising these qualities we must not forget that they are still children, necessarily unfitted for the responsibilities thus placed upon them. Moreover, they themselves are the victims of a great social crime when their childhood is taken away and the cares of life which belong to grown men and women are thrust upon them.

A striking instance of the ignorance of these little girls to whom infants are intrusted was observed in Hamilton Fish Park when one of them gave a baby, apparently not more than four or five months old, soda water, banana, ice cream and chewed cracker—all inside of 20 minutes.

In several factory towns I made careful investigations of the home conditions of a number of families where the mothers were employed away from their homes, noting particularly the rates of infantile mortality among them. The typical schedule on page 100 relates to five cases noted in the course of a single day in one of the small towns of New York.

Perhaps the employment of mothers too close to the time of childbirth, both before and after, is almost as important as the subsequent neglect and intrusting of children to the tender mercies of ignorant and irresponsible caretakers. Elie Reclus tells us that among savages it is the universal custom to exempt their women from toil during stated periods prior to and following childbirth, and in most countries legislation has been enacted forbidding the employment of women within a certain given period from the birth of a child. In Switzerland the employment of mothers is prohibited for two months before confinement and the same period afterward. At present the English law forbids the employment of a mother within four weeks after she has given birth to a child, and the trend of public opinion seems to be in favor of the extension of the period of exemption to the standard set by the Swiss law. So far as I am aware there exists no legislation of this kind in the United States, in which respect we stand alone among the great nations, and behind the savage of all lands and ages.

Wherever women are employed in large numbers, as, for example, in the textile industries and in cigar-making, the need for such legislation has presented itself, and it is impossible, unfortunately, to think that the absence of it in this country indicates a like absence of need for it. Cases in which women endure the agony of parturition amid the roar and whirl of machinery, and the bed of childbirth is the factory floor, are by no means uncommon. From a large mill, less than twenty miles from New York City, four such cases were reported to me in less than three months.

The physical effects of underfeeding cannot be easily overestimated. No fact has been more thoroughly estab-

SCHEDULE

Name	Age	Average Weekly Earnings	Husband's Work, Wages, etc.	Total Number of Children Born	Number of Children having Died	Number of Children now Alive	Nationality of the Parents	Age of Youngest Child	How Children are cared for while Mother Works	General Remarks
Mrs. M.	43	\$7.00	Mill Laborer, Wages \$9.00 week, but is often sick. Drinks heavily.	5	5	—	Mother Irish; Father, Scotch.	—	—	All five died under 18 months of age; three of them under 6 months. All of the children were cared for by other children while mother worked. Three died of convulsions, two of diarrhoea.
Mrs. K.	38	\$6.50	Laborer. Often unemployed. Average wage the year round not more than \$7.00 week.	7	5	2	Mother, Irish-American; Father, Swede.	10 months.	By girl, aged 9 years.	All five that died were under 12 months of age. Two of them died of convulsions, one of acute gastritis, two of measles. The baby is a puny little thing.
Mrs. C.	34	\$7.00	Deserted Wife.	6	4	2	Mother, German; Father, Austrian.	18 months.	By oldest girl, aged 8 years.	One child was scalded to death while mother was at work; one died of convulsions and two of bronchitis.
Mrs. S.	29	\$6.00	Sick two years and unable to work. Was a laborer formerly.	6	3	3	Mother, English; Father, American.	2 years.	By father and girl of 7 years.	The first two children and the last born are alive; the third, fourth and fifth are dead, each of them dying within the first year. Mother says they were poor, puny babies. Causes of death: Debility, 2; convulsions, 1.
Mrs. H.	41	\$6.00	Dead 6 months. Was a laborer, often sick and unemployed. Widow does not think he earned \$6.00 a week the year round.	8	5	3	Mother, American; Father, (deceased), French-Canadian.	20 months.	By oldest girl, 11 years old.	The first two and the eighth born are alive; the five intervening are dead. Four of these died within the first year. Causes of death: Debility, 2; intestinal dyspepsia, 2; bronchitis, 1.

lished than the physical superiority of the children of the well-to-do classes over their less fortunate fellows. In Moscow, N. V. Zark, a famous Russian authority, found that at all ages the boys attending the Real schools and the Classical Gymnasium are superior in height and weight to peasant boys. In Leipsic, children paying 18 marks school fees are superior in height and weight to those paying only 9, and gymnasium boys are superior to those of the lower Real and Burger schools. Studies in Stockholm and Turin show the same general results, the poorer children being invariably shorter, lighter, and smaller of chest. The British Anthropometric Committee found that English boys at ten in the Industrial Schools were 3.31 inches shorter and 10.64 pounds lighter than children of the well-to-do classes, while at fourteen years the differences in height and weight were 6.65 inches and 21.85 pounds, respectively. Dr. Charles W. Roberts gives some striking results of the examination of 10,846 English boys and men. Of these, 5,915 belong to the non-laboring classes of the English population, namely, public school boys, naval and military cadets, medical and university students. The remaining 13,931 belong to the artisan class. The difference in height, weight, and chest girth, from thirteen to sixteen years of age, is as follows:

AVERAGE HEIGHT IN INCHES

Age	13	14	15	16
Non-Laboring class . . .	58.79	61.11	63.47	66.40
Artisan class	59.93	57.76	60.58	62.93
Difference	2.66	3.35	2.89	3.47

AVERAGE WEIGHT IN POUNDS

Age	13	14	15	16
Non-Laboring class . . .	88.60	99.21	110.42	128.34
Artisan class	78.27	84.61	96.79	108.70
Difference	10.33	14.60	13.63	19.64

AVERAGE CHEST GIRTH IN INCHES

Age	13	14	15	16
Non-Laboring class . . .	28.41	29.65	30.72	33.08
Artisan class	25.24	26.28	27.51	28.97
Difference	3.17	3.37	3.21	4.11

It will be seen, therefore, that the children of the non-laboring class at thirteen years of age exceed those of the artisan class in height almost three inches, in weight almost ten and a half pounds, and in chest girth almost three and a quarter inches. And these figures by no means represent fully the contrast in physique which ex-

ists between the very poorest and well-to-do children. The difference between the children of the best-paid artisans and the poorest-paid of the same class is nearly as great. Mr. Rowntree found that in York, England, the boys of the poorest section of the working-class were on an average three and one-half inches shorter than the boys of the better-paid section of the working-class. As regards weight Mr. Rowntree found the difference to be eleven pounds, in favor of the child of the best-paid artisans.

Dr. W. W. Keen quotes the figures of Roberts with approval as applying almost equally to this country, and all the studies yet made by American investigators seem to justify that opinion. There exists a somewhat voluminous, but scattered, American literature tending to the same general conclusions as the European. The classic studies of Dr. Bowditch, in Boston, and Dr. Porter, in St. Louis, showed very distinctly that the children of the poorer classes in those cities were decidedly behind those of the well-to-do classes in both height and weight. The more recent investigations of Dr. Hrdlicka fully bear out the results of these earlier studies.

The Report on Physical Training (Scotland) calls attention once more to the fact that children in the pauper, reformatory, and industrial schools are superior in physique to the children in the ordinary elementary schools. Says the report: "The contrast between the conditions of such children as are seen in the poor lay schools and the children of parents who have altogether failed in their duty is both marked and painful." The fact remains that in a great many instances those children who, by reason of the criminality of their parents or their complete failure to provide for their offspring, find their way into such institutions, are far better off, physically, than their fellows in the ordinary schools whose parents are careful and industrious. But for the taint of institutional life, and the crushing out of individuality which almost invariably accompanies it, they would be far better equipped for the battle of life.

The real significance of this physical superiority is not at first obvious. The fact is that these children are generally below the average even of their own class when they are admitted to these institutions. Their superior physique shows the regeneration which proper food and hygienic conditions produce in the worst cases.

The San Francisco Chronicle, a rabid capitalist paper, recently declared that more than 1,200 children are annually killed in that city by the use of impure milk sold for profits. Could Socialism do worse?

Summarizing, briefly, the results of this investigation, the problem of poverty as it affects school children may be stated in a few lines. All the data available tend to show that not less than 2,000,000 children of school age in the United States are the victims of poverty which denies them common necessities, particularly adequate nourishment. As a result of this privation they are inferior in physical development to their more fortunate fellows. This inferiority of physique, in turn, is responsible for much mental and moral degeneration. Such chil-

dren are in very many cases incapable of successful mental effort, and much of our national expenditure for education is in consequence an absolute waste. With their enfeebled bodies and minds we turn these children adrift unfitted for the struggle of life, which tends to become keener with every advance in our industrial development, and because of their lack of physical and mental training they are found to be inefficient industrially and dangerous socially. They become dependent, paupers, and the procreators of a pauper and dependent race.

Here, then, is a problem of awful magnitude. In the richest country on earth hundreds of thousands of children are literally damned to lifelong, helpless, and debasing poverty. They are plunged in the earliest and most important years of character formation into that terrible maelstrom of poverty which casts so many thousands, aye, millions, of physical, mental, and moral wrecks upon the shores of our social life. For them there is little or no hope of escape from the blight and curse of pauperism unless the nation, pursuing a policy of enlightened self-interest and protection, decides to save them. In the main, this vast sum of poverty is due to causes of a purely impersonal nature which the victims cannot control, such as sickness, accident, low wages, and unemployment. Personal causes, such as ignorance, thriftlessness, gambling, intemperance, indolence, wife-desertion, and other vices or weaknesses, are also responsible for a good deal of poverty, though by no means most of it as is sometimes urged by superficial observers. There are many thousands of temperate and industrious workers who are miserably poor, and many of those who are thriftless or intemperate are the victims of poverty's degenerating influences. But whether a child's hunger and privation is due to some fault of its parents or to causes beyond their control, the fact of its suffering remains, and its impaired physical and mental strength tends almost irresistibly to make it inefficient as a citizen. Whatever the cause, therefore, of its privation, society must, as a measure of self-protection, take upon itself the responsibility of caring for the child.

There can be no compromise upon this vital point. Those who say that society should refuse to do anything for those children who are the victims of their parents' vices or weaknesses adopt a singularly indefensible attitude. In the first place it is barbarously unjust to allow the sins of the parents to bring punishment and suffering upon the child, to damn the innocent and unoffending. No more vicious doctrine than this, which so many excellent and well-intentioned persons are fond of preaching, has ever been formulated by human perversity. Carried to its logical end, it would destroy all legislation for the protection of children from cruel parents or guardians. It is strange that the doctrinaire advocates of this brutal gospel should overlook its practical consequences. If discrimination were to be made at all, it should be in favor of, rather than against, the children of drunken and profligate parents. For these children have a special claim upon society for protection from wrongs in the shape of influences injurious to their physical and moral

well-being, and tending to lead them into evil and degrading ways. The half-starved child of the inebriate is not less entitled to the protection of society than the victim of inhuman physical torture.

It is a well-known fact that the competition of children with their elders entails serious consequences of a twofold nature—first, in the displacement of adults, and, second, in the lowering of their wage standards. There are few things more tragic in the modern industrial system than the sight of children working while their fathers can find no other employment than to carry dinners to them. I know that many persons are always ready to suggest that the fathers like this unnatural arrangement, that they prefer to live upon the earnings of their little ones, and there are, no doubt, cases in which this is true. But in the majority of cases it is not true. Every one who is at all familiar with the lives of the workers must realize that when applied indiscriminately to the mass of those who find themselves in that condition of dependence upon their children's labor, this view is a gross libel. Some months ago I stood outside of a large clothing factory in Rochester, N. Y. Upon the front of the building, as upon several others in the street, there hung a painted sign, such as I have seen there many times, bearing the inscription, "Small Girls Wanted." While I stood there two men passed by and I heard one of them say to the other: "That's fourteen places we've seen they want kids to-day, Bill, but we've tramped round all week an' never got sight of a job."

No writer dare write, and no publisher dare publish, a truthful description of the moral atmosphere of hundreds of places where children are employed—a description truthful in the sense of telling the whole truth. No publisher would dare print the language current in an average factory. Our most "realistic" writers must exercise stern reticence, and tone down or evade the truth. No normal boy or girl would think of repeating to father or mother the language heard in the mill—language which the children begin before long to use occasionally, to think oftener still. I have known a girl of thirteen or fourteen, just an average American girl, whose parents, intelligent and honest folk, had given her a moral training above rather than below the average, mock a pregnant woman worker and unblushingly attempt to caricature her condition by stuffing rags beneath her apron. I do not make any charge against the tens of thousands of women who have worked and are working in factories. Heaven forbid that I should seek to brand as impure these women of my own class! But I do say that for the plastic and impressionable mind of a child the moral atmosphere of the average factory is exceedingly bad, and I know that none will more readily agree with me than the men and women who work, or who have worked, in mills and factories.

It is a sorry but indisputable fact that where children are employed, the most unhealthful work is generally given them. In the spinning and carding rooms of cotton and woollen mills, where large numbers of children are

employed, clouds of lint-dust fill the lungs and menace the health. The children have often a distressing cough, caused by the irritation of the throat, and many are hoarse from the same cause. In bottle factories and other branches of glass manufacture, the atmosphere is constantly charged with microscopic particles of glass. In the wood-working industries, such as the manufacture of cheap furniture and wooden boxes, and packing cases, the air is laden with fine sawdust. Children employed in soap and soap-powder factories work, many of them, in clouds of alkaline dust which inflames the eyelids and nostrils. Boys employed in filling boxes of soap-powder work all day long with handkerchiefs tied over their mouths. In the coal mines the breaker boys breathe air that is heavy and thick with particles of coal, and their lungs become black in consequence. In the manufacture of felt hats, little girls are often employed at the machines which tear the fur from the skins of rabbits and other animals. Recently, I stood and watched a young girl working at such a machine; she wore a newspaper pinned over her head and a handkerchief tied over her mouth. She was white with dust from head to feet, and when she stooped to pick anything from the floor the dust would fall from her paper head-covering in little heaps. About seven feet from the mouth of the machine was a window through which poured thick volumes of dust as it was belched out from the machine. I placed a sheet of paper on the inner sill of the window and in twenty minutes it was covered with a layer of fine dust, half an inch deep. Yet that girl works midway between the window and the machine, in the very center of the volume of dust, sixty hours a week. These are a few of the occupations in which the dangers arise from the forced inhalation of dust.

In some occupations, such as silk winding, flax spinning, and various processes in the manufacture of felt hats, it is necessary, or believed to be necessary, to keep the atmosphere quite moist. The result of working in a close, heated factory, where the air is artificially moistened, in summer time, can be better imagined than described. So long as enough girls can be kept working, and only a few of them faint, the mills are kept going; but when the faintings are so many and so frequent that it does not pay to keep going, the mills are closed. The children who work in the dye rooms and print shops of textile factories, and the color rooms of factories where the materials for making artificial flowers are manufactured, are subject to contact with poisonous dyes, and the results are often terrible. Very frequently they are dyed in parts of their bodies at literally as the fabrics are dyed. One little fellow, who was employed in a Pennsylvania carpet factory, opened his shirt one day and showed me his chest and stomach dyed a deep, rich crimson. I mentioned the incident to a local physician, and was told that such cases were common. "They are simply saturated with the dye," he said. "The results are extremely severe, though very often slow and, for a long time, almost imperceptible. If they should cut or scratch themselves where they are so thoroughly dyed, it might mean death."

In Yonkers, N. Y., are some of the largest carpet factories in the United States, and many children are employed in them. Some of the smallest children are employed in the "drum room," or print shop, where the yarns are "printed" or dyed. Small boys, mostly Slavs and Hungarians, push the trucks containing boxes of liquid dyes from place to place, and get it all over their clothing. They can be seen coming out of the mills at night literally soaked to the skin with dyes of various colors. In the winter time, after a fall of snow, it is possible to track them to their homes, not only by their colored footprints, but by the drippings from their clothing. The snow becomes dotted with red, blue, and green, as though some one had sprinkled the colors for the sake of the variegated effect.

Children employed as varnishers in cheap furniture factories inhale poisonous fumes all day long and suffer from a variety of intestinal troubles in consequence. The gilding of picture frames produces a stiffening of the fingers. The children who are employed in the manufacture of wall papers and poisonous paints suffer from slow poisoning. The naphtha fumes in the manufacture of rubber goods produce paralysis and premature decay. Children employed in morocco leather works are often nauseated and fall easy victims to consumption. The little boys who make matches, and the little girls who pack them in boxes, suffer from phosphorous necrosis, or "phossy-jaw," a gangrene of the lower jaw due to phosphor poisoning. Boys employed in type foundries and stereotyping establishments are employed on the most dangerous part of the work, namely, rubbing the type and the plates, and lead poisoning is excessively prevalent among them as a result. Little girls who work in the hoisery mills and carry heavy baskets from one floor to another, and their sisters who run machines by foot-poyer, suffer all through their after life as a result of their employment. Girls who work in factories where caramels and other kinds of candies are made are constantly passing from the refrigerating department, where the temperature is perhaps 20 degrees Fahr., to other departments with temperatures as high as 80 or 90 degrees. As a result, they suffer from bronchial troubles.

These are only a few of the many occupations of children that are inherently unhealthful and should be prohibited entirely for children and all young persons under eighteen years of age. In a few instances it might be sufficient to fix the minimum age for employment at sixteen, if certain improvements in the conditions of employment were insisted upon. Other dangers to health such as the quick transition from the heat of the factory to the cold outside air, have already been noted. They are highly important causes of disease, though not inherent in the occupation itself in most cases. A careful study of the child-labor problem from this largely neglected point of view would be most valuable. When to the many dangers to health are added the dangers to life and limb from accidents, far more numerous among child workers than adults, the price we pay for the altogether unnecessary and uneconomic service of children are

in the Boer patriot's phrase, "stagger humanity," if it could be comprehended.

No combinations of figures can give any idea of that price. Statistics cannot express the withering of child lips in the poisoned air of factories; the tired, strained look of child eyes that never dance to the glad music of souls tuned to Nature's symphonies; the binding to wheels of industry the little bodies and souls that should be free, as the stars are free to shine and the flowers are free to drink the evening dew. Statistics may be perfected to the extent of giving the number of child workers with accuracy, the number maimed by dangerous machines, and the number who die year by year, but they can never give the spiritual loss, if I may use that word in its secular, scientific sense. Who shall tally the death of childhood's hopes, ambitions, and dreams? How shall figures show the silent atrophy of potential genius, the brutalizing of potential love, the corruption of potential purity? In what arithmetical terms shall we state the loss of shame, and the development of that less than brute view of life, which enables us to watch with unconcern the toil of infants side by side with the idleness of men?

Poverty and Death.

(From "The Bitter Cry of the Children," by John Spargo. Courtesy of The MacMillan Company.)

Wherever there is much poverty the death-rate is high and rises higher with every rise of the tide of want and misery. In London, Bethnal Green's death-rate is nearly double that of Belgravia; in Paris, the poverty-stricken district of Menilmontant has a death-rate twice as high as that of the Elysee; in Chicago, the death-rate varies from about twelve per thousand in the wards where the well-to-do reside to thirty-seven per thousand in the tenement wards. The ill-developed bodies of the poor, underfed and overburdened with toil, have not the powers of resistance to disease possessed by the bodies of the more fortunate. As fire rages most fiercely and with greatest devastation among the ill-built, crowded tenements, so do the fierce flames of disease consume most readily the ill-built, fragile bodies which the tenements shelter. As we ascend the social scale the span of life lengthens and the death rate gradually diminishes, the death-rate of the poorest class of workers being three and a half times as great as that of the well-to-do. It is estimated that among 10,000,000 persons of the latter class the annual deaths do not number more than 100,000, among the best paid of the working-class the number is not less than 150,000, while among the poorest workers the number is at least 350,000.

This difference in the death-rates of the various social classes is even more strongly marked in the case of infants. Mortality in the first year of life differs enormously according to the circumstances of the parents and the amount of intelligent care bestowed upon the infants. In Boston's "Back Bay" district the death-rate at all ages per year was 13.45 per thousand as compared with 18.45 where the Thirteenth Ward, which is a typical working-class

district, and of the total number of deaths the percentage under one year was 9.44 in the former as against 25.21 in the latter. Wolf, in his classic studies based upon the vital statistics of Erfurt for a period of twenty years, found that for every 1,000 children born in working-class families 505 died in the first year; among the middle classes 173, and among the higher classes only 89. Of every 1,000 illegitimate children registered—almost entirely of the poorer classes—352 died before the end of the first year. Dr. Charles R. Drysdale, Senior Physician of the Metropolitan Free Hospital, London, declared some years ago that the death-rate of infants among the rich was not more than 8 per cent, while among the very poor it was often as high as 40 per cent. Dr. Playfair says that 18 per cent of the children of the upper classes, 36 per cent of the tradesman class, and 55 per cent of those of the working-class die under the age of five years.

CHAPTER XI

THE DEMOCRATIC INJUNCTION PLANK.

By Robert Hunter.

Some trade unionists are up in arms against the Democratic "anti-injunction" plank, and they ought to be. It is a direct evasion and an infamous attempt to delude labor.

The papers report that Gompers applauds that plank. If this is true he is applauding the defeat of labor.

The plank is a flagrant, and I have confidence enough in the intelligence of labor to believe, a vain attempt to betray labor.

An anti-injunction plank was demanded. A pro-injunction plank was obtained.

Labor has declared rightly, wisely and constitutionally, that an injunction should never be issued in an industrial dispute. Such injunctions are a violation of our liberties, issued in aid of the employing class to the injury of the working class.

But what have the Democrats given us?

After lauding to the skies the judiciary the Democratic program declares that "injunctions should not be issued in any case in which injunctions would not be issued if no industrial disputes were involved."

Gompers says he is content with that statement. He says he does not want any special legislation. He does not ask the abolition of injunctions. He only wants them to be used against labor in the same way they are used against others.

Well, here is an injunction that was not used against labor:

A gentleman in Texas asked a judge to enjoin another man from alienating the affections of his wife. The injunction was granted. It commanded the intruder neither to communicate with nor speak to the wife, nor to go near her house, nor near any other house or place in the city of Dallas or in the state of Texas where this woman happened to be.

That, I take it, was not an industrial dispute. It was not an injunction used to assist capital at the expense of labor. It was a domestic affair into which a judge insinuated himself, and his authority, as I think, not even the Czar or Kaiser would attempt.

Yet Samuel Gompers says he is willing to leave to judges the power to issue such injunctions.

But if a judge can issue an injunction like the above he can enjoin (as judges have done) the Brotherhood of Carpenters from handling nonunion materials. He can enjoin a quarryman's union from soliciting new members. He can dissolve unions as conspiracies. He can even enjoin a union from paying an eight-hour strike benefit.

Furthermore, he can enjoin Samuel Gompers from writing editorials or from having a private conversation with the President of the United States.

If a judge can enjoin a man from alienating the affections of another man's wife he can enjoin Samuel Gompers from alienating the affections of an employe for his master.

The Socialists do not want any special legislation. Labor does not want any special legislation. They want a fundamental legislative act—an act abolishing government by injunction.

Whether Samuel Gompers wants that or not we are reasonably certain that labor will be content with nothing less.

Jarring the Gentlemen of England.

(From "Socialists at Work," by Robert Hunter. Courtesy of The MacMillan Company.)

In the British parliament the most striking change to be noticed as a result of the advent of the labor members during the past two years is the new atmosphere in the House of Commons. What used to be "the most exclusive and interesting gentlemen's club in Europe" has been invaded by workingmen, and their presence alone has revolutionized the old order. Their election is a direct imputation that the Liberals and Tories have neglected the public welfare, and that the public know it and have lost confidence in them. Probably no other aristocracy in Europe has in the past enjoyed a power so free from restraint and criticism on the part of the lower classes as the British, and it realizes instinctively the fundamental danger of the present situation.

This feeling is entirely a product of the last two years, although Hardie has from the beginning irritated and offended the representatives of the old order. Shortly after his entrance to parliament he found the House one day in the midst of rejoicing because a son had been born in the royal family. There was a great demonstration, and messages of congratulation and felicitation were sent to the mother. At almost the same moment there occurred in Wales a terrible colliery disaster in which many miners were buried alive, and Hardie arose in the midst of the parliamentary rejoicings to ask the House to send to the wives, mothers, and sisters of the miners some expression of its sympathy. It would be impossible to describe the effect of his request. The members of what was supposed to be the nation's house of representatives were so completely bound up in their narrow family circles that to them the death of these workers was no more than a passing newspaper story; and the mere mention of this terrible accident during the progress of the festivities was an unwarrantable piece of impudence and bad taste. It was certainly awkward and annoying, but it was significant of the broad horizon that the representatives of the working men bring with them when they enter parliament. It seems a breaking down of class lines; but while it does not go as far as that, it has never-

theless worked a revolution in the psychology of the House of Commons.

One day the question of the unemployed was being debated, and Hardie sat alone, stung and embittered by the lack of all consideration or sympathy for the unhappy starving wanderers, until, unable to contain himself longer, he called out, "You well-fed beasts!" It was not a remark that one expected to hear in the House; but it had its effect on the tone of the discussion. Upon a similar occasion, Will Crooks said with some fire, in answer to the Liberals and Tories who had been saying that the unemployed were lazy, lounging vagabonds who did not want work, that he had observed a goodly number of vagrants about Rotten Row—a fashionable English promenade—dressed in top-hats and spats. On still another occasion, when a bill was before the House for the feeding of school children, the gentlemen of the old parties had been saying over and over again that the children were hungry not so much because of poverty as because their mothers did not know how to cook, or preferred drinking in the saloons, or gossiping with their neighbors, to attending to their household duties. This would have passed without comment in the old House; it would have been thought perfectly proper to have referred in this manner to several million mothers. But in the new order it was taken as an insult by the men on the labor benches, and one can imagine the electric effect on the House when Hardie remarked that it was embarrassing for the labor members to sit quietly in their seats while hearing their wives described as slatterns. These are, of course, the merest incidents of debate, but I cannot help thinking they are more significant than legislation. Instead of merely a few landowners, younger sons of noblemen, barristers, solicitors, capitalists, and other gentlemen spending their time largely in discussing their own affairs, and with some annoyance philanthropically deciding to give an occasional evening having to do with remedying the frightful abuses of the English slums, and the wretched conditions of a deteriorating populace of some 12,000,000, there are now at least a few representatives of the underworld who have forced their way into the midst of these oligarchs, to insist upon the necessity of social reform.

To say the least, the upper classes do not like it, and being rather put to it to find a way out, they have begun an attack upon Socialism which is far from observing that spirit of fair-play upon which the Briton has always prided himself. At every new election fought by labor, and at every sign of its increasing power, the bitterness grows more intense; until now the propertied interests have entered upon a crusade against Socialism and are trying to prove that it advocates free love, the destruction of the family, atheism, and the outright confiscation of private property. Many well-known men, including some prominent nobles, are at present issuing manifestos warning the people of the danger to England of this new movement. At first the campaign was so absurd that the Socialists looked upon it complacently, and even considered it a valuable asset to their propaganda, but the din grew, until at present these attacks from thousands

of platforms and nearly all the newspapers have become too serious to be ignored. Finally Bruce Glasier, the able editor of "The Labor Leader," like a lion at bay, has turned upon the accusers, and for several weeks has answered their charges by a series of articles so damaging to the Liberals and Tories that they plan already to abandon their method of attack.

In answer to the charge that socialism is spoliation, Glasier has given the shameless facts of confiscation, bribery, and corruption, that have been practiced by prominent English families in building up their vast fortunes. In answer to the criticism that socialism wishes to alter the marriage relation and to establish a licentious system of free love, he takes up one after another of the Liberals and Tories who have advocated the loosest of sexual relationships, and lived lives of the grossest immorality. As a testimony upon upper-class ethics, he quotes one marquis to the effect that "There is no law of nature, human or divine, in man's present state which confines him to one woman, and that not one man in ten thousand could on his deathbed swear that he had truly obeyed the marriage law." He prints the infamous memorandum of Lord Roberts, a Tory, issued in June, 1886, which instituted compulsory medical service for the inspection of prostitutes for the Indian army, and drew from an under officer a request that more young and attractive women should be sent out. In answer to the accusation that socialism is agnostic, Glasier pursues the same policy of proving that for every militant agnostic among the socialists of any importance there are many among the Liberals and Tories. He shows that socialism has nothing in common with confiscation or spoliation, with any change in the marriage relation, or with any alteration in the religious views of the individual. The response of the socialists to these attacks is by no means limited to this effective work of Bruce Glasier in "The Labor Leader." Robert Blatchford and all the other journalists have taken a hand in the fight, and the campaigners of both the labor and socialist parties are addressing enormous audiences at about two thousand meetings every week.

I have dealt at length with this situation in England because it illustrates what occurred in other countries of Europe as soon as socialism began to force its way into parliament. Similar arguments were used against it in Germany during the seventies, when the movement began to be formidable there; and by imputing to it responsibility for some attacks upon the life of the emperor, and repeatedly referring to it as a criminal organization advocating every immorality, Bismarck was enabled to force through the Reichstag his iniquitous measures which made outlaws of all socialists. In France during the eighties and early nineties the same thing occurred, and in Italy, although the socialists oppose the anarchists, they are invariably held responsible for the work of the latter in encouraging insurrection and violence. What is happening at the present moment in England is, therefore, typical, but this form of attack has nowhere in Europe availed to defeat socialism. Indeed, with hardly

a single exception it may be said to have aided the movement, for as soon as the people have discovered that the attitude of the upper classes is one of intentional misrepresentation they have turned to the socialists with increasing enthusiasm. And when the upper classes in other countries have learned that misrepresentation and falsehood have only a momentary effect, and are followed by a strong reaction, they have settled down to a policy of social reform.

"Our inequality materializes our upper class, vulgarizes our middle class, brutalizes our lower class."

He says, "It is right and necessary that all men should have work to do which shall be worth doing, and be of itself pleasant to do; and which should be done under such conditions as would make it neither over-wearisome nor over-anxious."

Socialism in Germany.

(From "Socialists at Work," by Robert Hunter. Courtesy of The MacMillan Company.)

	Votes.	Deputies.
1871	124,655.....	2
1874	351,952.....	10
1877	493,288.....	9
1881	311,961.....	13
1884	549,990.....	24
1887	763,128.....	11
1890	1,427,298.....	35
1893	1,786,738.....	44
1898	2,107,076.....	56
1903	3,010,771.....	81
1907	3,258,968.....	43

These figures show a remarkable and significant growth, and it is natural to ask what use have the Socialists made of this increasing power? It is generally known that within the last thirty years Germany has developed a daring policy of State Socialism. Municipal and national ownership of public utilities and natural resources has proceeded at a pace that has amazed the rest of Europe. At the same time labor legislation for the protection of the working-class has been developed until it is a model for Europe. Social and industrial conditions have been revolutionized. The conditions of the working-class in Germany have been changed so that what were among the worst in Europe are now the best. Some mighty force has wrought this change. No one, so far as I know, believes that it is due to superior benevolence on the part of the upper classes of Germany, or that they are more humane than the like classes of other nations. Indeed, it is sometimes doubted that the German capitalists are, as a rule, as philanthropically inclined as, for instance, those of England. And yet the fact remains that despite the lack of unusual concern for the welfare of the masses, Germany has evolved an exceptional and admirable code of legislation which has materially improved the condition of the masses.

Legislation has been so improved and extended that now every workman's family possessing an

income under \$500 a year is assured of a pension in case of need due either to sickness, accident, old age, or death. Up to the eighties very little legislation had been passed for the protection of workmen while employed, but an improved code was drawn up, which has become a part of the legislation of the empire. Railroads and other public utilities, mines and other natural resources, have been gradually taken over by the state. Public utilities necessary to the various municipalities have been municipalized, and an improved system of taxation, intended to relieve the pressure upon the poorer classes, has also been drawn up and passed.

The result of this State Socialism was not felt immediately. Indeed, one only begins now to see its effect upon the German nation. When it was introduced, Germany was on the verge of ruin. Trade, industry, and agriculture were depressed, and the laboring-classes were among the most miserable in Europe. The cities were filled with wretchedness and poverty; they were insanitary; the housing of the people was abominable; and everywhere the masses of the poor lived in abject misery. The policy of *laissez faire* had brought Germany to the same bankrupt condition that one still finds in England and that begins to show itself in America. The working-class, hopelessly discouraged, and embittered by poverty, was in a state of dangerous discontent; and Bismarck became convinced that there was no hope of retaining its political allegiance while its misery was unbearable.

It would be folly to maintain that State Socialism has been the sole cause of what is, comparatively speaking, the present remarkable prosperity of the German empire; and yet no one can doubt that no matter what other forces may have been at work, the policy of protecting the working-classes, and of ameliorating their condition of life, has been one powerful cause of the improved conditions. Industry in Germany is enjoying a prosperity equalled perhaps nowhere else. The exports have increased at a rate rarely equalled by any other country. The concentration of wealth has been no less striking than in the United States. Trusts, combinations, and pools have rendered industrial operations more economical, and relieved the nation of some of the ruinous costs of competition. Along with this enrichment of the capitalist has proceeded an amelioration of the living and working conditions of the people. The state insurance system of Germany distributes over \$100,000,000 every year to the working-class in the form of benefits and indemnities. The municipalities have so improved the living conditions in the cities that today there are practically no slums in Germany. The aged and sick, the injured in industry, all have their little patrimony to keep them from want. There is poverty in Germany, wages are low, conditions are still intolerable; but the improvement over the old days and over the conditions still obtaining in neighboring countries gives one the impression that there is no dire want in the German empire.

The German movement has much to teach us. To a political reformer it has a lesson; namely, that a "third party" can exercise an influence almost equal to that of

a party in power. To the laborer it demonstrates the possibility of improving his own condition even now if he will but unite with his fellows. To the Socialist it proves that a party which demands the social revolution has a long struggle ahead of it, but in the meantime it obtains incidentally an increasing and striking amelioration of existing conditions. These are not unimportant by-products of the labor movement in politics, for that is all they can be called, as the social democracy of Germany has never been in power and has never of itself been able to pass a single law. It has rarely collaborated with other parties, and it has been forced during the last forty years to be merely an ominous protest, a source of real apprehension if not of dread to the German government. Without supreme power its final revolutionary program can, of course, never be fully realized. What it has gained is merely the reform of present economic conditions. It has forced capitalism to be more just and merciful to the producing masses. In order to win from social democracy its adherents, capitalism has endeavored to render the party powerless, and has given with its own hand, as an indication of what it wishes to appear as its native generosity, the social reforms of the last thirty years. The reason why these same reforms have not been carried out in England and America, or indeed anywhere else, is because the working-class has not expressed its will with the same unity and solidarity.

The working-class in Germany knows how to use its power in its own original way. Its independence of the other political parties, and the fact that the bureaucracy has managed thus far to keep it out of power, has forced upon it the role of critic. In this capacity it exercises an incredible influence. Its minorities in the various legislative bodies never allow the parties that rule to ignore social, political, and industrial evils. Under this unfriendly and relentless eye the parties in power do not dare to give franchises, grants, and special privileges to private interests. Graft is almost unknown. No evil escapes the Socialists; no reform satisfies them. Their ideals and aims are beyond any immediate attainment, and national ownership, municipal ownership, labor protection, the demolition of slums, the abolition of child labor—none of these reforms receive from them more than a cold approval. There is always something more that must be done, some other grievance to be removed. The working-class in Germany is like an awful conscience, voicing the evils of society, condemning the acts of the powerful, setting forth the ideal of the future.

Infant Damnation.

(From "Poverty," by Robert Hunter, Courtesy of The MacMillan Company.)

Poverty, the problem of city life, the homeless and yardless tenement, the street gang, and the many other influences outside of the school, are too powerful to be overcome by a little learning. Nothing less than education is powerful enough to save the child. And "to prepare us for complete living is the function education has

to discharge." The city child needs, as no child ever before needed, everything that education has to give and all things that may wisely be included in the term. To make education synonymous with learning is to rob the child of the sweetest blessings of education. When we come to value education more than we value learning, the school will be the world of the child, whether working, playing, or learning. In the school he will be prepared to enter fitly the world of men.

I have intentionally dwelt upon the lack of play-space in the modern city and upon the resultant evils, because "character," as Goethe says some place, "is developed in the stream of life." This stream of life is for the child the field of play. Justice or injustice, patience or impatience, kindness or cruelty, generosity or meanness, humility or vanity, courtesy or brutality, selfishness or unselfishness, good or ill temper, sincerity or insincerity,—these roots of character and of the soul of man are first grown in the play of childhood. Put learning beside character, and how unimportant, in comparison, it becomes. But the roots of character, the foundations of society are neglected by society, while for learning millions are spent. The provision we have made for the lesser thing is a great American institution,—the school; for the infinitely greater thin—the street, the gutter, and the garbage box.

There are in common schools of this country sixteen million children—a young American nation—the great mass of whom are never to enter the higher schools. Considerably less than one per cent of our population will finally reach the university. The problem of the thorough training of these future men and women is stupendous. The institutions, commerce, industry, statesmanship,—all things of the year immediately to follow,—will depend upon these little ones, now learning their A-B-C's and forming their street gangs. The great and the nameless unknown, the rich and the poor, of the present generation must make way at the advent to maturity of these children. The universities are great and powerful in their way; but how much greater and more powerful are these common schools, training the hearts and minds of these millions. The head of the greatest university in New York has five thousand students to make into men; the head of the common schools of New York has nearly half a million children to make into citizens. If there be a great man in this country, let us put him at this task; let us then look up to him and support him, and call him our foremost man, for he and those of his profession are making the nation.

Not less than eighty thousand children, most of whom are little girls, are at present employed in the textile mills of this country. In the South there are now six times as many children at work as there were twenty years ago. Child labor is increasing yearly in that section of the country. Each year more little ones are brought in from the fields and hills to live in the degrading and demoralizing atmosphere of the mill towns. Each year more great mills are being built to reap the profits which these little hands make possible. In one Southern town

there are five great mills and five settlements of workers —“pest-ridden, epidemic-filled, filthy” settlements “to be shunned like the plague”; each with its poverty-stricken, hungry-looking wage-slaves; and each with its group of box-houses, looking all alike and built high above the malarial clay-mud. Tin cans, rubbish, filth, are strewn everywhere inside and outside the houses. The great mills shriek at 4.45. The men, women, and children turn out of bed or rise from mattresses on the floor, gulp down some handfuls of food, and leave the home for the mills. Sleepy, half-awake, frowsy girls, sleepy, yawning, half-dressed children, drowsy, heavy men and women, hurry along in crowds to be in time to begin their twelve or more hours of continuous work. “The day in winter is not born when they start their tasks; the night has fallen long before they cease. In summer they are worked far into the evenings.” And after the day of labor “they are too tired to eat, and all they want to do is to turn their aching bones on to their miserable mattresses and sleep.”

But while it is only fair to say that the conditions in the South are undoubtedly worse than those in the North, there are nevertheless many conspicuous examples of child slavery of the worst kind in almost every section of the Union. The South is not alone in its violation of the Jeffersonian principle. It is violated in the North, East, and West as well.

In the mining districts of Pennsylvania children labor under conditions which are, if possible, even more injurious to them than the child labor of the cotton-mills is to the children of the South. In the mines, mills, and factories, before the furnaces, and in the sweatshops of Pennsylvania, that state of colossal industrial crimes, one hundred and twenty thousand little ones were, in the year 1900, sacrificing a part of their right to life, most of their right to liberty, and all of their right to happiness except perhaps of a bestial kind. The commission appointed to settle the anthracite strike of 1902 heard the cases of Theresa McDermott and Rosa Zinka. These children represented, though unknown to them, seventeen thousand little girls under sixteen years of age, who were toiling in the great silk-mills and lace factories of the mining districts of Pennsylvania. The chairman could not repress his indignation when these two eleven-year-old children told the commission how they left their homes to report at the factory at half-past six in the evening and spent at work the long hours of the night until half-past six in the morning.

The Dispossessed.

(From “Poverty,” by Robert Hunter. Courtesy of The Mac-Millan Company.)

The total number of paupers in the United States in the year 1891 was about 3,000,000, according to the estimates of Professor Richard T. Ely and Mr. Charles D. Kellogg, then secretary of the Charity Organization Society of New York City.

The amount of actual distress in the community may be measured also by two additional sets of data. The number of evictions in any community is a fairly good

measure of the minimum distress. In the year 1903, 60,463 families in the borough of Manhattan were evicted from their homes. This is about 14 per cent of the total number of families in the borough. As another indication the number of pauper burials should be cited. Every one familiar with the poor knows how desperately they struggle to give a decent burial to their dead. A poor person will resort to almost any means in order to prevent a member of his or her family having a pauper burial, or, as they say, "lying in a pauper's grave." Even the poorest people have friends, politicians or others, who save them, if possible, from this last disgrace. And yet one in every ten persons who die in New York is buried at public expense in Potter's Field. This is, without question, the lowest limit of misery. If observation counts for anything, I should say that the number of pauper burials certainly does not represent half of the actual distress in any community.

The results stated concisely are as follows:—

1903 20 per cent of the people of Boston in distress.
 1897 19 per cent of the people of New York State in distress.
 1903 14 per cent of the families of Manhattan evicted.

Every

year. per cent (about) of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials.

The census figures for 1900 show that 8,365,739, or considerably over half of the families in the United States, do not own the homes in which they live. In the cities the ownership of homes is much less common than in the smaller towns. Illustrations of this fact are seen in the following percentages of homes hired in various cities:—

Boston	81.1
Chicago	74.9
Cincinnati	79.1
Fall River	82.
Holyoke	80.6
New York (Manhattan).....	94.1 ..
Philadelphia	77.9

The percentages show that of all the persons living in these cities a very large proportion do not own the homes in which they live. Probably no wage-earners in Manhattan own their homes, and in several other large cities probably 99 per cent of the wage-earners are propertyless. The significant thing in this lack of ownership lies in the fact that a very large majority, probably 90 per cent, of the workmen in the cities and industrial communities, are propertyless, and, furthermore, are involved in a weekly indebtedness for rent of from one-fifth to two-fifths of their earnings, regardless of whether they have work or not.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAW AND THE LABORER.

By Seymour Stedman.

The attorney general of the United States, when called upon, renders opinions to the members of the cabinet, the president and to other departments of the government. On July 12, 1906, he was asked whether the Chinese exclusion act applied to the Panama canal, and, in rendering his opinion, affirmed that contract liability did not extend to the canal zone, and that this government might give a bond to the republic of Panama conditioned upon the deportation of the Chinese at the end of their services, and not to permit any of them to remain in the Republic of Panama.

On July 23, 1906, he rendered his opinion to the effect that the eight-hour law did not apply to naval vessels which were under contract. This practically permits all builders of vessels for the government to employ labor for any number of hours they desire. On July 25th, two days after, the act of congress providing for eight hours' work on government work was held not to apply to quartermasters' supplies which were purchased by the navy. Thus those who are manufacturing all the equipment for the army, from embalmed beef to Krupp guns, may employ their men as long as they see fit.

In *Nordrop B. & Co. vs. Stablenen's Union*, 86 Pac. Rep., the Supreme Court of California decided in a case where the complainants were in the mercantile business, engaged in selling groceries and household goods, and kept horses and wagons and employed stablenen who were members of the union, where a disagreement arose and a strike of the stablenen occurred, which was followed by a boycott, against which an injunction in this case was secured. The bill charged conspiracy and picketing of the stores and stables of the complainant. The stablenen filed their appearance and bill of particulars to the effect that the complainant was unfair, the defendants denied a conspiracy and claimed protection by a special act of the legislature to the effect that no agreement, combination or contract by or between two or more persons to procure any act in furtherance of trade disputes between employers and employes in the State of California shall be deemed criminal, nor shall those engaged therein be indictable or otherwise punishable for the crime of conspiracy. The Court however held that notwithstanding the act of the legislature that an injunction was proper and the teamsters were enjoined, and restrained from obstructing the conduct of the complainant's business or permitting any agent or agents or representative or any picket or pickets or any person or persons to be standing in front of or near the place of business

with a placard or transparency having words or figures to the effect that a strike was in progress at said store..

In *Patterson vs. Wyoming Valley District Council*, Fed. Rep. 146, p. 2, a case is reported in which the plaintiff was conducting a planing mill and dealt in lumber and building supplies. An injunction was issued against the union on account of a boycott which had been declared against the firm. The court held that the union could not be compelled to deliver the books, though it claimed the right to keep them on the ground that to produce them would be incriminating. So the best way out of this situation was to do as they have done in Chicago—to go into the trade union headquarters and take the books.

In *State vs. People*, 78 Northwestern Reporter, 61, it is held that an act of the legislature provided that coal mine operators should provide washrooms at the top of their mines for the use of miners and other employes, with appliances for drying their clothing, was unconstitutional. It is not even legal to provide for cleanliness in Illinois.

In *United States vs. Scott*, the United States Supreme Court decided, in 158 Fed. Rep., 43, that the act of congress which makes it a criminal offense for any railroad company, its officers or agents, to require an employe or person seeking employment, to enter into an agreement not to become or remain a member of any labor organization, was unconstitutional. It seemed that Scott, of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, had threatened employes with discharge if they joined the labor organization known as the Railroad Telegraphers. This was in violation of an act of congress. Scott was indicted, and demurred to the indictment, alleging that the act was unconstitutional, which was sustained; so the railroads can not only blacklist but can require all workingmen to sign an agreement not to join a trades union organization.

This Act was to prevent discrimination against trade union organizations, but the court is so much more conventional than the United States Congress that we find the Act for their protection brushed aside by three judges of the Circuit Court.

In *Sedalia Brewing & Malting Co. vs. Hanson*, the U. S. Circuit Court in the 144 Fed. Rep., 1011, decided on a motion by the members of an unincorporated labor organization to set aside a restraining order preventing them from publishing notices with the word "scab" or applying the same to the products of the company. The Circuit Court refused to set the order aside, and held that under the well established rules the brewers had no right to issue a publication or send out notices using the word "scab" and "unfair," with reference to the products of this brewery, because it hurt its trade and injured its business and, therefore, was illegal.

The only strike that is legal is the one that does not do any harm to the employer, and the most useless strike of all is every four years when the men who are affected by these injunctions vote for the same senate and the same president who placed them on the bench.

In *Joyce vs. Gt. Northern R. R. Co.*, 110 N. W., p. 975, Minnesota Supreme Court, Joyce sued the railroad company for injuries caused by the negligence of the Com-

pany and for its unlawful conduct in preventing him from obtaining employment in the Union Depot Company of St. Paul. It was based upon the act of 1895 which prohibited blacklisting among employers to prevent workmen from obtaining employment. The case was dismissed in the District Court and was appealed to the Supreme Court of Minnesota. The Supreme Court of Minnesota sustained the right of Joyce to bring the action. It is interesting to note that the United States Supreme Court has now decided otherwise. This decision sustained the right of the Great Northern road to blacklist Joyce.

Loewe vs. Lawler, 148 Fed. Rep., 924. In this case Lawler and his associates were members of a local branch of the United Hatters of North America, and undertook to compel the plaintiffs to unionize their factory. They withdrew from employment in said factory and went upon a strike. They also sought to curtail the sales of the manufacturer by advertising it as an unfair shop.

This case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Supreme Court in the 208 U. S. Reports decided that the anti-trust act of July 2, 1890, has a broader application than the provision of restraint of trade at common law. It prohibits any combination which essentially obstructs the free play of commerce between the states or obstructs in that regard the liberty of the trader to engage in business, and this restraint of trade aimed at compelling third parties and strangers not to engage in the course of interstate commerce except on conditions that the combination imposed; that the Act makes no distinction between classes; organizations of farmers and laborers are not exempted from its operation, notwithstanding the efforts which the records of Congress show were made in that direction a combination of labor organizations and the members thereof to compel a manufacturer whose goods are sold almost entirely in other states to unionize his shop, and on its refusal to do so to boycott his goods and prevent their sale in states other than his own until such time as the resulting damage forced him to comply with their demand, being under the conditions of this case a combination in restraint of interstate trade or commerce within the meaning of the Anti-Trust Act, and the manufacturer may maintain an action for three-fold damages under Section 7 of this Act. The opinion in this case was delivered by Chief Justice Fuller, and in the view of this authority the officers and members of unions assisting directly or indirectly in such a boycott, as well as their union, are amenable to a fine, and the personnel not only to a fine but to imprisonment.

And later in the case of the Pope Motor Car Company vs. Keegan (1906), the United States Circuit Court for the Northern District of Ohio issued a preliminary injunction against the officers of the International Association of Machinists and other persons, former employes of the Pope Motor Car Company; in which the Court sustained the propositions enumerated in the case preceding, and enjoined the members of the Union from persuasion and picketing.

In the *Ideal Manufacturing Co. vs. Ludwig*, a recent case in which the Metal Polishers' Union declared a strike against the Company, an injunction was issued prohibiting the members from congregating or gathering in the neighborhood of the premises in which the Ideal Manufacturing Company was engaged in the business. This case was affirmed by the Supreme Court. In view of the law now well established that workingmen, through a combine, have no right to solicit, induce or persuade men to discontinue work, and that they have no right to organize a boycott of the goods of the unfair house, it may be important to know how far the Courts have gone in holding members of a union responsible for an illegal act of a member of the union, although they themselves did not participate in any way in the act complained of.

As Illinois is an industrial state it is essential to note the case of *Franklin Union No. 4 vs. People of the State of Illinois* (220, Ill. 355) for the influence and the bearing it will have throughout the country. The opinion rendered by the majority of the Court was dissented from by two of the judges, and we will quote their opinion after stating the substance of the case. A bill was filed in the Superior Court of Cook County by the Chicago Typothetae, a voluntary association of employing printers. The bill represented that Franklin No. 4, its officers and members, had entered into a conspiracy with unknown persons to prevent the employers from carrying on their business, that they had inaugurated a strike, had resorted to threats and violence. The defendants were notified of the filing of the bill, and an application for an injunction; which was issued. The strike was the result of the refusal of the Typothetae to recognize Franklin Union No. 4. After the bill was filed a petition was filed representing that Charles F. Werner, who later served his time in jail, and John M. Shea, president and secretary of the Union, had violated the injunction. The Union was adjudged guilty and condemned by Court to pay a fine of \$1,000. It was contended upon the appeal that as the Union was an unincorporated association it was not properly subject to a fine. This position was not sustained by the Court.

It was further contended by the employers that where a strike was the result of a resolution of a union and a member committed an unlawful act, that the union was liable for such act, because unlawful persuasion and intimidation grew out of the fact of there being such a strike. This is criticized strongly by the minority of the Court, and no radical can add to what the minority of the Court has said, which is as follows:

"It is urged by the appellants that persuasion necessarily and inevitably leads to disagreements, quarrels, force, violence and general disorder and should therefore be enjoined. The question is not whether persuasion leads to acts of lawlessness, but whether persuasion in itself is unlawful. A man should not be enjoined from doing an act merely because that act may lead to the doing of some wrongful act. If such an argument be followed to its logical conclusion it would be proper to enjoin the strikers from leaving their homes while the

strike continues, because if they are kept at home no violent encounters will take place between them and those who are in the employment in question, while if they are permitted to go upon the streets affrays may occur."

It will be observed from this opinion of the minority of the judges of the Supreme Court of Illinois, that the majority opinion, which is the law today in force, makes the union liable in damages if a single hot-headed or ill-tempered member breaks a law by either assaulting a non-union workman or unlawfully persuading him to discontinue work.

CHAPTER XIII.

A SAMPLE LABOR INJUNCTION.

This Is the Kind of Theory "Injunction Bill" Taft Originated.

In September, 1906, on petition of the Allis-Chalmers Company, Iron Molders Union No. 125 was prohibited:

"(1) From in any manner interfering with, hindering, obstructing, or stopping the business of the said company complainant, or its agents, servants, or employees, in the maintenance, conduct, management, or operation of its business.

"(2) From compelling or inducing, or attempting to compel or induce by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, any of the said company's employees to fail or refuse to work for it, or to leave its service.

"(3) From preventing, or attempting to prevent any person or persons by threats, intimidation, force, or violence, from freely entering into or continuing in the said company's service.

"(4) From doing any acts whatever in furtherance of any conspiracy or combination to interfere with or obstruct the business of the said company, its officers, agents, or employees.

"(5) From congregating upon or about the company's premises or the streets, approaches, and places adjacent or leading to said premises, for the purpose of intimidating its employees, or preventing or hindering them from fulfilling their duties as such employees, or for the purpose, or in such manner as to induce or coerce by threats, violence, intimidation, or persuasion, any of the said company's employees to leave its service, or refuse to enter its service.

"(6) From maintaining at or near the premises of said company any picket or pickets in a threatening or intimidating manner.

"(7) From interfering with the said company's employees in going to and from their work.

"(8) From going singly or collectively to the homes of said company's employees for the purpose of intimidating or threatening them or collectively persuading them to leave its service.

"(9) From enforcing, maintaining, or aiding any illegal boycott against the said company, its agents or employees.

"(10) From endeavoring to illegally induce people not to deal with the said company, its agents and employees; which commands and injunctions you are respectively required to observe and obey."

The union was accused of violating this sweeping injunction, its officers haled into the federal court and found guilty. In delivering the opinion, Judge Sanborn, of the U. S. Circuit Court, District of Southern Wisconsin, commented:

"It is said that there have been many arrests and convictions of non-union workmen for the crime of carrying concealed weapons, but this is only additional evidence that the men feared bodily harm. Under these circumstances it makes no difference that the pickets, as a general rule, spoke politely to the workmen. Under such circumstances, the mere constant presence of the pickets, their buttons, and numbers, even if they said nothing, would carry with it constant threat, producing fear and alarm among the workmen. Thus the picketing was maintained in a threatening and intimidating manner, in violation of the sixth paragraph of the injunction; also in violation of the second paragraph, restraining the constraint of workmen to quit by threats, intimidation, force, or violence; also the fourth and seventh paragraphs restraining all acts in furtherance of conspiracy and unlawful interference with workmen. A simple "request" to do or not to do a thing, made by one or more of a body of strikers under circumstances calculated to convey a threatening intimation, with a design to hinder or obstruct workmen, is unlawful intimidation, and not less obnoxious than the use of physical force for the same purpose. (In re Doolittle (C. C.) 23 Fed. 545.) A like method of "peaceful picketing" is vigorously condemned by Judge McPherson, in Atchison R. Co. v. Gee (C. C.) 139 Fed. 582."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SUPREME COURT AND THE BAKERS' TEN-HOUR LAW.

By Morris Hillquit.

The trade of bakers was always considered one of the most unfavorable. The occupation is exceedingly unhealthy. They work in ill ventilated, moist cellars. The exposure of the body to the frequent changes of atmosphere, the inhalation of dust particles, etc., undermine the power of resistance of the workingmen in that trade, and predispose him to a number of diseases, chief among them being bronchitis, sore eyes, inflammation of the lungs and tuberculosis. Bakers who have followed the trade for several years, are, as a rule, hollow-chested, pale-faced, and weak; their death rate exceeds that of the agricultural workers in different places from 77 per cent. to 120 per cent. In cases of epidemic diseases the bakers are among the first victims, and under normal conditions they rarely live to be above fifty.

This enfeebled physical condition of the bakers, their lack of power of resistance, together with the fact that their trade is not among those classified as "skilled," has made it difficult to build up a proper organization among them, and has rendered them an easy prey to exploitation.

As a rule the baker works exceedingly long hours, mostly nights, in abominable surroundings, and receives starvation wages.

The Workingmen's Agitation.

When the baker finally began to organize in this country their first efforts were, therefore, directed toward the abolition of the particularly obnoxious features of their trade by legislation. After a good deal of agitation, work and lobbying, they finally succeeded in 1889 in inducing the legislature of the State of New York to pass a law for their protection. The law was entitled: "Bakeries and Confectionary Establishments;" it is composed of six separate sections, and was made part of the general labor law of this state. The most important provision of the law is contained in the section known as Section 110, which reads as follows: "No employee shall be required or permitted to work in a biscuit, bread or cake bakery or confectionary establishment more than sixty hours in any one week, or more than ten hours in any one day, unless for the purpose of making a shorter workday on the last day of the week; nor more hours in any one week than will make an average of ten hours per day for the number of day during such week in which such employee shall work." The remaining five sections provide for sanitary drainage and plumbing and proper ventilation of bake shops, cleanliness and proper construction of the same, and the separation of water closets and sleeping rooms from the bake rooms. The bakeries are by the provisions of that law placed under the jurisdiction of the factory inspector, who is given power to require such alterations as may be necessary in order to make them comply with the provisions of the law. The provisions of the Bakery Law were by no means novel. It was modeled after the English "Bakehouse Regulation Act," which was passed by parliament as early as 1863, and it was less radical than similar laws adopted in other countries decades ago. The law when first passed was purely platonic, since the legislature provided no penalty for a violation of any of its provisions. In 1897, however, this defect was remedied by the enactment of a new section in the Penal Code of the State, known as Section 384 L, and which made a violation of any of the provisions of the law relating to bakery and confectionary establishments a misdemeanor. The penalty provided by the said section was as follows: For the first offense a fine of from twenty to one hundred dollars; for the second offense a fine of from fifty to two hundred dollars or imprisonment not exceeding thirty days, or both; for the third offense a fine not less than two hundred and fifty dollars or imprisonment for not

more than sixty days, or both such fine and imprisonment.

As thus amended the law remained on the statute books of New York, as all other labor laws have, dormant. With very few exceptions, its provisions were not enforced.

In 1899, however, the bakers of Utica decided to make an attempt to enforce the law, and, accordingly, they made complaint against one Joseph Lochner, a baker boss of that city, who was persistently violating the said law in compelling his employees to work more than sixty hours a week. On the complaint of some of his employees the said Lochner was tried, found guilty and fined twenty dollars. This penalty did not seem very terrifying to Mr. Lochner, who found it more profitable to violate the law and pay twenty dollars than to live up to its provisions and save the twenty dollars. Accordingly Mr. Lochner continued exacting longer hours of labor from his employees than allowed by law. In the month of April, 1901, Mr. Lochner was again arrested on a charge of a violation of the Bakery Law, as a second offense. This time Mr. Lochner made no defense to the charges, but decided to fight the legality of the law. In this campaign for a nullification of the law in favor of the bakery employees, Mr. Lochner was probably backed by other baker bosses in the State. The campaign was a vigorous one and carried to the highest courts in the country. The original case was argued before the Court of Oneida County, which found Mr. Lochner guilty, and imposed on him a fine of fifty dollars. An appeal was thereupon taken by the defendant to the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York in the Court Department, where Lochner's conviction was upheld by a vote of 3 to 2, the prevailing opinion being written by Judge Davy. The defendant thereupon appealed to the highest court of the State of New York, the Court of Appeals, which likewise affirmed the judgment against Lochner; the voting of the Court of Appeals stood 4 to 3, the prevailing opinion being written by Judge Parker, then Chief Justice of the Court, and the dissenting judges being led by Judge O'Brien, who has distinguished himself in declaring so many labor laws unconstitutional before and after the said decision. The case was finally taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, and that court reversed the decisions of all state courts; set aside the conviction and declared the law unconstitutional by a vote of 5 to 4. The prevailing opinion was written by Judge Peckham, and the principal dissenting opinion by Judge Harlan. Judge Holmes wrote a separate opinion in favor of the constitutionality of the law.

Effect of the Decision.

It will thus be seen that the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Lochner case was the most radical and far reaching thus far rendered on the validity of labor legislation. It is the hardest blow ever dealt by the courts of this country to organized labor. Hereafter all demands of labor organizations for legislative limitation of the hours of labor will be a meaningless and hollow phrase, unless the United States Supreme Court reverses itself, or the constitution of the country is amended to obviate the construction placed on it by the courts. As the law stands today, the limitation of the hours of labor is only permissible where the welfare of the public at large requires such limitation, as, for instance, in the case of railway employees, where the safety of the passengers may be seriously endangered if employees on certain branches of the service should be overworked and fatigued. A limitation of the hours of labor also seems to be permissible where the occupation of the workmen is extraordinarily dangerous or unhealthy, and the power to decide whether such state of danger or unhealthiness exists is not left with the people through the various state legislative bodies, but to the judges of the United States Supreme Court.

Organized labor now knows, or at least should know, where it stands. During the last few years one labor law after the other has been wiped off the statute books of the various states by judicial decisions, and now the very soul of all labor legislation, the shortening of the hours of labor, has been rendered impossible, and the Supreme Court of the United States has served notice on the workmen of this country that it expects to maintain and strengthen its policy of nullification of labor laws.

CHAPTER XV.

LABOR'S PROTEST TO CONGRESS.

American Federation of Labor,
Washington, D. C., March 19, 1908.

We, the official representatives of the national and international trade and labor unions and organization of farmers, in national conference assembled, in the District of Columbia, for the purpose of considering and taking action deemed necessary to meet the situation in which the working people of our country are placed by recent decisions of the courts, now appear before Congress to voice the earnest and emphatic protest of the workers of the country against the indifference, if not actual hostility, which Congress has shown toward the reasonable and righteous measures proposed by the workers for the safeguarding of their rights and interests.

In the name of labor we now urge upon Congress the necessity for immediate action for relief from the most grave and momentous situation which has ever confronted the working people of this country. This crisis has been brought about by the application by the Supreme Court of the United States of the Sherman anti-trust law to the workers, both organized and in their individual capacity.

Labor and the people generally look askance at the invasion of the court upon the prerogatives of the law-making and executive departments of our Government.

The workers feel that Congress itself must share our chagrin and sense of injustice when the courts exhibit an utter disregard for the real intent and purpose of laws enacted to safeguard and protect the workers in the exercise of their normal activities. There is something ominous in the ironic manner in which the courts guarantee to workers:

The "right" to be maimed and killed without liability to the employer;

The "right" to be discharged for belonging to a union;

The "right" to work as many hours as employers please and under any conditions which they may impose.

Labor is justly indignant at the bestowal or guaranteeing of these worthless and academic "rights" by the courts, which in the same spirit and the exercise of them individually or in association, breath deny and forbid to the workers the practical and necessary protection of laws which define and safeguard their rights and liberties.

The most recent perversion of the intent of a law by the judiciary has been the Supreme Court decision in the *Hatters' case*, by which the Sherman anti-trust law has been made to apply to labor, although it was an accepted fact that Congress did not intend the law to so apply and might even have specifically exempted labor but for the fear that the Supreme Court might construe such an affirmative provision to be unconstitutional.

The workers earnestly urge Congress to co-operate with them in the upbuilding and educating of a public sentiment which will confine the judiciary to its proper function, which is certainly not that of placing a construction upon the law the very opposite of the plain intent of Congress, thus rendering worthless even the very moderate efforts which Congress has so far put forth to define the status of the most important, numerous, and patriotic of our people—the wage-workers, the producers of all wealth.

We contend that equity, power, and jurisdiction, discretionary government by the judiciary for well-defined purposes and within specific limitations, granted to the courts by the Constitution, has been so extended that it is invading the field of government by law and endangering individual liberty.

As government by equity—personal government—advances, republican government—government by law—recedes.

We favor enactment of laws which shall restrict the jurisdiction of courts of equity to property and property rights and shall so define property and property rights that neither directly nor indirectly shall there be held to be any property or property rights in the labor or labor power of any person or persons.

The feeling of restless apprehension with which the workers view the apathy of Congress is accentuated by the recent decision of the Supreme Court.

By the wrongful application of the injunction by the lower courts the workers have been forbidden the rights of free press and free speech, and the Supreme Court in the *Hatters' case*, while not directly prohibiting the exercise of these rights, yet so applies the Sherman law to labor that acts involving the use of free press and free speech, and hitherto assumed to be lawful, now become evidence upon which triple damages may be collected and fine and imprisonment added as a part of the penalty.

Indeed, the decision goes so far as to hold the agreement of unions with employers to maintain industrial peace to be "conspiracies" and the evidence of unlawful combinations in restraint of trade and commerce, thus effectually throttling labor by penalizing as criminal the exercise of its normal, peaceful rights and activities. The fact that these acts are in reality making for the uplift and the betterment of civilization as a whole does not seem to be understood or appreciated by the courts. The workers hope for a broader and more intelligent appreciation from Congress.

It is not necessary here to enter into a detailed review of this decision.

The workers ask from Congress the relief which it alone can give from the injustice which will surely result from the liberal enforcement of the Sherman anti-trust law as interpreted by this decision. The speedy enactment of labor's proposed amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law will do much to restore the rights from which the toilers have been shorn.

We submit for consideration, and trust the same will be enacted, two provisions amendatory of the Sherman anti-trust law, which originally were a part of the bill during the stages of its consideration by the Senate and before its final passage, and which are substantially as follows:

That nothing in said act (Sherman anti-trust law) or in this act is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced, so as to apply to organizations or associations not for profit and without capital stock, nor to the members of such organizations or associations.

That nothing in said act (Sherman anti-trust law) or in this act is intended, nor shall any provision thereof hereafter be enforced, so as to apply to any arrangements, agreements, or combinations among persons engaged in agriculture or horticulture, made with a view of enhancing the price of their own agricultural or horticultural products.

It is clearly an unwarranted assumption on the part of the courts or others to place the voluntary associations of the workers in the same category as trusts and corporations owning stock and organized for profit.

On the one hand, we have the trusts and corporations, dealing with purely material things and mostly with the inanimate products of labor; on the other hand, there are workers whose labor power is part of their very life and being and which can not be differentiated from their ownership in and of themselves.

The effort to categorically place the workers in the same position as those who deal in the products of labor of others is the failure to discern between things and man.

It is often flippantly averred that labor is a commodity, but modern civilization has clearly and sharply drawn the line between a bushel of coal, a side of pork, and the soul of a human, breathing, living man.

The enactment of the legislation which we ask will tend to so define and safeguard the rights of the workers of today and those who will come after them that they may hope to continue to enjoy the blessings of a free country as intended by the founders of our Government.

In the relief asked for in the proposed amendment to the Sherman anti-trust law which we present to Congress labor asks for no special privileges and no exemption from the treatment which any law-abiding citizen might hope to receive in a free country.

Indeed, the present Parliament of Great Britain, at its session in December, 1906, enacted into law what is known as the "trades dispute act." It is brief, and we therefore quote its provisions in full:

"1. It shall be lawful for any person or persons, acting either on their own behalf or on behalf of a trade union or other association of individuals, registered or unregistered, in contemplation of or during the continuance of any trade dispute, to attend for any of the following purposes at or near a house or place where a person resides or works or carries on his business or happens to be—

"(1) For the purpose of peacefully obtaining or communicating information.

"(2) For the purpose of peacefully persuading any person to work or abstain from working.

"2. An agreement or combination by two or more persons to do or procure to be done any act in contemplation or furtherance of a trade dispute shall not be ground for an action if such an act when committed by one person would not be ground for an action.

"3. An action shall not be brought against a trade union or other association aforesaid for the recovery of damages sustained by any person or persons by reason of the action of a member or members of such trade union or other association aforesaid."

We submit that if such relief from the onerous conditions brought about by the Taff-Vale decision of the highest court of Great Britain can be enacted by a monarchical government, there ought to be no hesitancy in conceding it in our own Republic.

The unions of labor aim to improve the standard of life; to uproot ignorance and foster education; to install character, manhood, and an independent spirit among our people; to bring about a recognition of the interdependence of man upon his fellow-man. We aim to establish a normal workday; to take the children from the factory and workshop and give them the opportunity of the schools, the home, and the playground. In a word, our unions strive to lighten toil, educate their members, make their homes more cheerful, and in every way contribute an earnest effort toward making life the better worth living. To achieve these praiseworthy ends we believe that all honorable and lawful means are justifiable and commendable and should receive the sympathetic support of every right-thinking American.

Labor asks only for justice. It asks that it be not victimized and penalized under laws never intended to apply to it.

We hope for a prompt recognition on the part of Congress of the wage-workers' very reasonable and moderate insistence in this important matter.

In addition, the other most important measures which labor urges are:

The bill to regulate and limit the issuance of injunctions—Pearre bill.

Employers' liability bill.

The bill extending the application of the eight-hour law to all Government employes and those employed upon a work for the Government, whether by contractors or subcontractors.

There are other measures pending which we regard as important, but we feel especially justified in urging the passage of those mentioned, because they have been before Congress for several sessions and upon which extended hearings have been had before committees, every interest concerned having had ample opportunity to present arguments, and there is no good reason why action should longer be deferred by Congress.

We come to Congress hoping for a prompt and adequate remedy for the grievances of which we justly complain. The psychological moment has arrived for a total change of government policy toward the workers; to permit it to pass may be to invite disaster even to our national life.

In this frank statement of its grievances the attitude of labor should not be misinterpreted, nor should it be held as wanting in respect for our highest lawmaking body.

That the workers, while smarting under a most keen sense of injustice and neglect, turn first to Congress for a remedy, shows how greatly they still trust in the power and willingness of this branch of the government to restore, safeguard, and protect their rights.

Labor proposes to aid in this work by exercising its utmost political and industrial activity, its moral and social influence, in order that the interests of the masses may be represented in Congress by those who are pledged to do justice to labor and to all our people, not to promote the special interests of those who would injure the whole body politic by crippling and enslaving the toilers.

Labor is most hopeful that Congress will appreciate the gravity

of the situation which we have endeavored to present. The workers trust that Congress will shake off the apathy which has heretofore characterized it on this subject and perform a beneficent social service for the whole people by enacting such legislation as will restore confidence among the workers that their needs as law-abiding citizens will be heeded.

Only by such action will a crisis be avoided. There must be something more substantial than fair promises. The present feeling of widespread apprehension among the workers of our country becomes more acute every day. The desire for decisive action becomes more intense.

While it is true that there is no legal appeal from a Supreme Court decision, yet we believe Congress can and should enact such further legislation as will more clearly define the rights and liberties of the workers.

Should labor's petition for the righting of the wrongs which have been imposed upon it and the remedying of injustice done to it pass unheeded by Congress and those who administer the affairs of our Government, then upon those who have failed to do their duty and not upon the workers will rest the responsibility.

The labor union is a natural, rational and inevitable outgrowth of our modern industrial conditions. To outlaw the union in the exercise of its normal activities for the protection and advancement of labor and the advancement of society in general is to do a tremendous injury to all people.

The repression of right and natural activities is bound to finally break forth in violent form of protest, especially among the more ignorant of the people, who will feel great bitterness if denied the consideration they have a right to expect at the hands of Congress.

As the authorized representatives of the organized wage-earners of our country, we present to you in the most conservative and earnest manner that protest against the wrongs which they have to endure, and some of the rights and relief to which they are justly entitled. There is not a wrong for which we seek redress or a right to which we aspire which does not or will not be equally shared by all the workers—by all the people.

While no member of congress or party can evade or avoid his or their own individual or party share of responsibility, we aver that the party in power must, and will, by labor and its sympathizers, be held primarily responsible for the failure to give the prompt, full, and effective congressional relief we know to be within its power.

We come to you not as political partisans, whether Republican, Democratic, or other, but as representatives of the wageworkers of our country, whose rights, interests and welfare have been jeopardized and flagrantly, woefully disregarded and neglected. We come to you because you are responsible for legislation or the failure of legislation. If these, or new questions, are unsettled and any other political party becomes responsible for legislation, we shall press home upon its representatives and hold them responsible, equally as we now must hold you.

SAM'L. GOMPERS,
W. R. FAIRLEY,
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
T. C. PARSONS,
P. J. M'ARDLE,
C. M. BARNETT,
W. D. MAHON,

Committee.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM, 1908.

PRINCIPLES.

Human life depends upon food, clothing and shelter. Only with these assured are freedom, culture and higher human development possible. To produce food, clothing or shelter, land and machinery are needed. Land alone does not satisfy human needs. Human labor creates machinery and applies it to the land for the production of raw materials and food. Whoever has control of land and machinery controls human labor, and with it human life and liberty.

Today the machinery and the land used for industrial purposes are owned by a rapidly decreasing minority. So long as machinery is simple and easily handled by one man, its owner cannot dominate the sources of life of others. But when the machinery becomes more complex and expensive, and requires for its effective operation the organized effort of many workers, its influence reaches over wide circles of life. The owners of such machinery become the dominant class.

In proportion as the number of such machine owners compared to all other classes decreases, their power in the nation and in the world increases. They bring ever larger masses of working people under their control, reducing them to the point where muscle and brain are their only productive property. Millions of formerly self-employing workers thus become the helpless wage slaves of the industrial masters.

As the economic power of the ruling class grows it becomes less useful in the life of the nation. All the useful work of the nation falls upon the shoulders of the class whose only property is its manual and mental labor power—the wage worker—or of the class who have but little land and little effective machinery outside of their labor power—the small traders and small farmers. The ruling minority is steadily becoming useless and parasitic.

A bitter struggle over the division of the products of labor is waged between the exploiting propertied classes on the one hand and the exploited propertyless class on the other. In this struggle the wage working class cannot expect adequate relief from any reform of the present order at the hands of the dominant class.

The wage workers are, therefore, the most determined and irreconcilable antagonists of the ruling class. They suffer most from the curse of class rule. The fact that a few capitalists are permitted to control all the country's industrial resources and social tools for their individual profit, and to make the production of the necessities of life the object of competitive private enter-

prise and speculation is at the bottom of all the social evils of our time.

In spite of the organization of trusts, pools and combinations, the capitalists are powerless to regulate production for social ends. Industries are largely conducted in a planless manner. Through periods of feverish activity the strength and health of the workers are mercilessly used up, and during periods of enforced idleness the workers are frequently reduced to starvation.

The climaxes of this system of production are the regularly recurring industrial depressions and crises which paralyze the nation every fifteen or twenty years.

The capitalist class, in its mad race for profits, is bound to exploit the workers to the very limit of their endurance and to sacrifice their physical, moral and mental welfare to its own insatiable greed. Capitalism keeps the masses of workingmen in poverty, destitution, physical exhaustion and ignorance. It drags their wives from their homes to the mill and factory. It snatches their children from the playgrounds and schools and grinds their slender bodies and unformed minds into cold dollars. It disfigures, maims and kills hundreds of thousands of workingmen annually in mines, on railroads, and in factories. It drives millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed and forces large numbers of them into beggary, vagrancy and all forms of crime and vice.

To maintain their rule over their fellow men, the capitalists must keep in their pay all organs of the public powers, public mind and public conscience. They control the dominant parties, and, through them, the elected public officials. They select the executives, bribe the legislatures and corrupt the courts of justice. They own and censor the press. They dominate the educational institutions. They own the nation politically and intellectually just as they own it industrially.

The struggle between wage workers and capitalists grows ever fiercer, and has now become the only vital issue before the American people. The wage-working class, therefore, has the most direct interest in abolishing the capitalist system. But in abolishing the present system, the workingmen will free not only their own class, but also all other classes of modern society. The small farmer, who is today exploited by large capital more indirectly but not less effectively than is the wage laborer; the small manufacturer and trader, who is engaged in a desperate and losing struggle for economic independence in the face of the all-conquering power of concentrated capital; and even the capitalist himself, who is the slave of his wealth rather than its master. The struggle of the working class against the capitalist class, while it is a class struggle, is thus at the same time a struggle for the abolition of all classes and class privileges.

The private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation is the rock upon which class rule is built; political government is its indispensable instrument. The wageworkers cannot be freed from exploitation without conquering the political power and

substituting collective for private ownership of the land and means of production used for exploitation.

The basis for such transformation is rapidly developing within present capitalist society. The factory system, with its complex machinery and minute division of labor, is rapidly destroying all vestiges of individual production in manufacture. Modern production is already very largely a collective and social process. The great trusts and monopolies which have sprung up in recent years have organized the work and management of the principal industries on a national scale, and have fitted them for collective use and operation.

The Socialist Party is primarily an economic and political movement. It is not concerned with matters of religious belief.

In the struggle for freedom the interests of all modern workers are identical. The struggle is not only national but international. It embraces the world and will be carried to ultimate victory by the united workers of the world.

To unite the workers of the nation and their allies and sympathizers of all other classes to this end, is the mission of the Socialist party. In this battle for freedom the Socialist party does not strive to substitute working class rule for capitalist class rule, but by working class victory, to free all humanity from class rule and to realize the international brotherhood of man.

Platform for 1908.

The Socialist party, in national convention assembled, again declares itself as the party of the working class, and appeals for the support of all workers of the United States and of all citizens who sympathize with the great and just cause of labor.

We are at this moment in the midst of one of those industrial breakdowns that periodically paralyze the life of the nation. The much-boasted era of our national prosperity has been followed by one of general misery. Factories, mills and mines are closed. Millions of men, ready, willing and able to provide the nation with all the necessities and comforts of life are forced into idleness and starvation.

Within recent times the trusts and monopolies have attained an enormous and menacing development. They have acquired the power to dictate the terms upon which we shall be allowed to live. The trusts fix the prices of our bread, meat and sugar, of our coal, oil and clothing, of our raw material and machinery, of all the necessities of life.

The present desperate condition of the workers has been made the opportunity for a renewed onslaught on organized labor. The highest courts of the country have within the last year rendered decision after decision depriving the workers of rights which they had won by generations of struggle.

The attempt to destroy the Western Federation of Miners, although defeated by the solidarity of organized labor and the Socialist movement, revealed the exist-

ence of a far-reaching and unscrupulous conspiracy by the ruling class against the organizations of labor.

In their efforts to take the lives of the leaders of the miners the conspirators violated state laws and the federal constitution in a manner seldom equaled even in a country so completely dominated by the profit-seeking class as is the United States.

The Congress of the United States has shown its contempt for the interests of labor as plainly and unmistakably as have the other branches of the government. The laws for which the labor organizations have continually petitioned have failed to pass. Laws ostensibly enacted for the benefit of labor have been distorted against labor.

The working class of the United States cannot expect any remedy for its wrongs from the present ruling class or from the dominant parties. So long as a small number of individuals are permitted to control the sources of the nation's wealth for their private profit in competition with each other and for the exploitation of their fellow men, industrial depressions are bound to occur at certain intervals. No currency reforms or other legislative measures proposed by capitalist reformers can avail against these fatal results of utter anarchy in production.

Individual competition leads inevitably to combinations and trusts. No amount of government regulation, or of publicity, or of restrictive legislation will arrest the natural course of modern industrial development.

While our courts, legislatures and executive offices remain in the hands of the ruling classes and their agents, the government will be used in the interests of these classes as against the toilers.

Political parties are but the expression of economic class interests. The Republican, the Democratic, and the so-called "Independence" parties and all parties other than the Socialist party, are financed, directed and controlled by the representatives of different groups of the ruling class.

In the maintenance of class government both the Democratic and Republican parties have been equally guilty. The Republican party has had control of the national government and has been directly and actively responsible for these wrongs. The Democratic party, while saved from direct responsibility by its political impotence, has shown itself equally subservient to the aims of the capitalist class whenever and wherever it has been in power. The old chattel slave owning aristocracy of the south, which was the backbone of the Democratic party, has been supplanted by a child slave plutocracy. In the great cities of our country the Democratic party is allied with the criminal element of the slums as the Republican party is allied with the predatory criminals of the palace in maintaining the interest of the possessing class.

The various "reform" movements and parties which have sprung up within recent years are but the clumsy expression of widespread popular discontent. They are

not based on an intelligent understanding of the historical development of civilization and of the economic and political needs of our times. They are bound to perish as the numerous middle class reform movements of the past have perished.

Program.

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

General Demands.

1—The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public works. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour workday and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

2—The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

3—The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

4—The extension of public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

5—The scientific reforestation of timber lands and the reclamation of swamp lands. The land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

6—The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

Industrial Demands.

7—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

Political Demands.

8—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

9—A graduated income tax.

10—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

11—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

12—The abolition of the senate.

13—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of Congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

14—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

15—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

16—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor, and the establishment of a department of labor.

17—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

18—The free administration of justice.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance."

CHAPTER XVII.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

By A. M. Simons.

I—The Unemployed Problem.

We will take up one by one the planks in the general demands of the Socialist platform and point out their bearing on the class struggle in which we are engaged today.

It must always be remembered that each and every one of these demands is preceded by the preamble of Socialist principles and the general platform for the present year.

These principles are the lens through which the demands for immediate action are to be considered. Each and every one of the separate planks are parts of a symmetrical program having as its object the ownership and control of the earth by the workers. But we are in the midst of a class struggle and it is through that class struggle that the end set forth in the preamble must be attained and, for the present at least, the main work of any Socialist must be to fight that class struggle within existing society.

This fact is set forth in the opening sentence of the program which reads as follows:

"As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program."

The first demand of the platform is given to the subject of the unemployed because today this is the one great pressing problem confronting the working class. It concerns those who are at work equally with those who are suffering for lack of opportunity to work. It is the existence of the army of the unemployed that beats down wages, crushes strikes, cripples the unions and insures to the employer the power of exploitation over the working class.

The problem of the unemployed is intense today in the midst of the crisis. But it is never absent. The present offers an opportunity to provide for the future.

So it is that the Socialist party speaks upon this subject with no uncertain voice. It demands:

"The immediate government relief for the unemployed workers by building schools, by reforesting of cut-over and waste lands, by reclamation of arid tracts, and the building of canals, and by extending all other useful public work. All persons employed on such works shall be employed directly by the government under an eight-hour work-day and at the prevailing union wages. The government shall also

loan money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works. It shall contribute to the funds of labor organizations for the purpose of assisting their unemployed members, and shall take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class."

This plank sets forth things to be done and the way to do them. It proposes that great works of public interest and permanent need shall be undertaken at once. The things to be produced are things whose need and desirability are universally admitted.

Provision is made for the proper reward and conditions of employment for those employed.

Much of such work must be done by local governments and assistance to this end is also provided for.

Where direct relief without work must be given, it provides that such relief shall be issued through organizations of laboring men. This measure presents no experiment, since it has been tried with marvelous success in other countries.

Such action would mean the doubling of the strength and influence of the trade unions of America within a single year and would transform them into an invulnerable bulwark against capitalist oppression.

No other action within the present organization of society would accomplish as much for the working class as the carrying out of the provisions of this plank.

No other political party makes any mention of the unemployed, although it is the problem of problems with which the British government is struggling today, and the condition is even more pressing in America than in England. But the workers of England are acting along the lines advocated by the Socialists to such an extent that the ruling class realizes that it must act if it will secure even a temporary lease of life and rulership.

The things demanded in this plank are possible and attainable, with no fundamental change in our political institutions, yet they would revolutionize for the better the life of the working class. They will be done if the workers will it next November.

II—Collective Ownership.

The collective ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, steamship lines, and all other means of social transportation and communication, and all land.

This demand simply asks that the United States at least move up alongside of every other great nation. We should have to search the islands of the sea and semi-barbaric countries in order to find another privately owned telegraph system. In every other country the people have insisted at least that the means by which they communicate with one another, the very instrument with which they think in common, should not be private property.

Railroads, too, in nearly every other country have been taken out of the field of private ownership. At one stroke this step abolishes nearly all the evils of which the little

capitalists complain. There are no rebates, no bribing of legislatures, no free passes, and no "affiliated" industries with nationally owned railroads.

The Socialist party, however, treats this question, as it does all others, from a different point of view than does the capitalist. It seeks collective ownership of the railroads, not that they may become an instrument in the hands of the government for military oppression of the people as in Russia, Germany and Italy, but that they may be used for the benefit of the working class.

A collectively owned railroad would not dare to slaughter human beings as do the privately owned ones of America. Even when owned by a capitalist government they do not do this. More people are killed on the railroads of the United States each year than on all the railroads of all the rest of the world during several years.

Socialists would insist that the collectively owned railroad should be a model employer, that every department should be unionized, and not that two or three small divisions of the employes should be petted at the expense of the hundreds of thousands who are not permitted to organize.

The telegraph today is an instrument of censorship and espionage over the thought of the nation. Its employes are overworked, underpaid and inhumanly treated.

Collective ownership of the telephone would mean a unification of its services. The government-owned telephones which are located in countries with a much lower standard of wages and a much less eagerness to use new devices, are far more extensively utilized than the privately owned systems of America.

Just because these measures are now taking on a working class tinge their advocacy has been dropped by the Republican and Democratic parties. Several Republican postmaster generals advocated government ownership of the telegraph. Today no Republican dare even suggest this.

Not so very long ago William Jennings Bryan declared himself in favor of government ownership of railroads. The knowledge on the part of those who controlled the Democratic party that such ownership could be used for the benefit of the workers has compelled him to repent his former profession of faith.

The Socialist party advocates these and all other things only "as measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of this ultimate aim (Socialism) and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression."

III.—The Trust Question.

There are two ways of meeting the trust problem aside from the "let-us-alone-to-rob" policy. Both the Republican and Democratic parties are agreed upon one of these policies, which might be called the "destruction or regulation" plan.

They propose to smash the bad trusts and make the good ones behave. They have been trying this plan ever since the first trust appeared. In the beginning the trusts were few and small and their opponents many and power-

ful. After a generation of this kind of "regulation" and destruction the trusts are many ~~and~~ powerful, their opponents crushed and helpless.

IT CAN HARDLY BE CALLED A SUCCESSFUL POLICY.

Yet it is all Taft or Bryan have to offer as a reason for asking for votes.

The Socialist does not make any distinction between "good" and "bad" trusts. He sees that many features of all trusts are good and that at least ONE feature of all trusts is bad.

The good things about the trust are that it does the work of the world with less labor than many competing firms, that it makes possible the undertaking of great tasks beyond the power of smaller organizations of industry, and that it introduces order into the chaos of competitive industry.

The bad thing about the trusts is that they are instruments for exploitation of the workers.

To put this another way. Everyone will agree that the trusts are a good thing for their owners. The steel trust is a good thing for Carnegie. It enables him to make steel cheaper than it could be made by many small steel companies. The oil trust is a good thing for Rockefeller. It enables him to refine and distribute oil much more cheaply and expeditiously than it could be done by a hundred little oil refineries.

The trust is a bad thing for those who do NOT own it. It compels them to pay higher prices for the product and receive lower wages (sometimes at least) than competition would do. It gathers all the wealth of the country from the non-owners and turns it over to the few owners until the latter become the rulers of the whole country.

The Socialist, seeing that the trust is a good thing for the OWNERS and a bad thing for the NON-OWNERS, says that the way to make it good for everyone is to MAKE EVERYBODY OWNERS.

So the Socialist party platform demands—

The collective ownership of all industries which are organized on a national scale and in which competition has virtually ceased to exist.

If the trusts were collectively owned by everyone through a working-class government, all the economies in production and distribution of which they are capable would benefit all, and there would be no non-owners to be exploited.

When you stop to think of it, you will see that this is the only possible solution. "Busting" has been tried, and the trusts have grown fat on it. "Regulation" has been tested, and not a single trust has had a single "bad" feature removed.

We cannot "bust" nor "regulate," and IT IS A GOOD THING THAT WE CANNOT. If we could we would simply be moving society backward instead of forward.

The Socialist demands that we TAKE AND USE this new tool for the BENEFIT OF ALL.

IV.—Ownership of National Wealth.

The wealth of the earth, which no man created, and which is brought forth only by direct application of labor, should certainly not be a source of income to any save those who perform that work.

Yet it is from the mineral wealth stored in the bosom of the earth that some of the greatest unearned incomes are drawn. Private ownership of the coal mines places the industry and life of the nation in the power of a handful of men. Private ownership of the oil wells has made a half dozen men more powerful than any autocrats that ever sat upon thrones.

Already we are beginning to hear of the exhaustion of the coal, oil, iron ore and the products of the forests, and this in a country more richly endowed with natural wealth than any other land on earth.

Unless this is stopped, the working class, when it comes into power, will gain possession of an earth **ALREADY LOOTED OF MUCH OF ITS WEALTH.**

For these, and a host of other reasons, the Socialist party demands:

The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

Today the last phase of this demand has an especially timely application. The great extension of the irrigation work in the west is developing water power sufficient to operate all the manufactories of the nation. This water power, created by the common effort, is being turned over to private profit. Roosevelt, the great "trust buster," is thereby creating new and more powerful trusts than those he is pretending to fight. Make these water powers the property of the collectivity, and it will give the nation the power to control the entire industrial situation.

Control of these natural resources would give a source of income sufficient to provide for the entire army of the unemployed, to erect a system of socialized industry that would expropriate the trusts, and place the working class in possession of the entire industrial life of the nation.

It would do these things provided this measure was used as one "calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight" and to "increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression."

V.—Providing for the Future.

The scientific reforestation of timber lands and the reclamation of swamp lands, the land so reforested or reclaimed to be permanently retained as a part of the public domain.

If this plank of the Socialist platform were carried into effect it would at once furnish a source of revenue sufficiently large to provide pensions in cases of sickness and old age for every worker in the United States. It would do this without laying an additional burden upon anyone, save in so far as it would restrict the field of plunder for the trust barons.

The United States already possesses 148,000,000 acres of forest land, and if this were managed in the inter-

est of the working class it would put an end to the lumber trust, improve the conditions of every man employed in the woodworking industries, from the forest to the completed article, and furnish a tremendous income to be used for social purposes.

Estimates by officials of the national government place the amount of swamp lands which could be reclaimed at 100,000,000 acres. This is enough to give five acres to every family in the United States. Bolton Hall tells us that "three acres and liberty" go together, by which he means that that space is sufficient to produce all that one family needs.

If this land were to be reclaimed and retained as a part of the public domain, to be cultivated by the latest and most scientific methods, it would feed the entire population, and would be an instant answer to the question of how a Socialist government could solve the farmer question without taking the land from the little farmer.

We do not say that this is the way it will be solved, but simply point out a method by which all the land needed by a collective society for farming can be secured without disturbing a single farm owner. There are several other ways in which this same result could also be attained, by the way. So the farmer question is far from being the stumbling block to Socialism that it is often supposed to be—and this even if we grant every single statement made by the opponents of Socialism about the situation.

Forestry, irrigation and reclamation of swamp lands will give the national government control of the best land for agricultural purposes on the continent. There is enough of such land to supply all the wants of the population many times over, if it is properly cultivated. All of this land would be practically created by the collective effort, and there would be no question of expropriation.

Moreover, the control of swamps, forest and irrigations means control of floods and waterways and the reclamation of hundreds of thousands of acres of land now subject to periodical floods. The prevention of these floods, requiring the co-operation of localities and industrial operations far removed from one another, geographically and socially, is something that cannot be left to private enterprise and exploitation.

Yet the Socialist party is the only party that approaches these questions in any broad, constructive manner.

VI.—The absolute freedom of press and assemblage.

It has been more than a hundred years since this plank was written into the constitution of the United States. It was placed there as a part of the "bill of rights" which was demanded by the people of the thirteen colonies as a condition of their acceptance of the constitution.

It may seem strange, therefore, that such a plank can be found in the platform of a political party a century later. There is no mystery in the matter, however. The revolutionists of 1776 and of 1789 were fighting for freedom from one despotism. The revolutionists of 1908 are

fighting against another despotism. Each despot uses the same weapons. King George and King Capital each would suppress the right of their subjects to gather for the discussion of their wrongs and rights.

Today the Socialist party is battling for freedom of speech in a dozen different cities. In Los Angeles men and women went to jail for that right. In Philadelphia and Seattle and Dayton and a host of other cities men and women, members of the Socialist party, have during the past year suffered imprisonment in defense of that right.

Socialist papers are now battling for freedom of the press against a system of press censorship more autocratic and irresponsible than that of Russia. The last congress of the United States, in spite of the fact that it was filled with "friends of labor" and even a few members of trades unions elected on capitalist tickets, sneaked through, without a word of protest from any of these "friends," a "rider" on the appropriation bill that makes every little postmaster a censor of the mail of every citizen. The czar never appointed 70,000 censors at one sweep.

Because these rights, supposed to have been secured generations ago, are now being invaded by those who fought for them when their interests were endangered, but who have now, in turn, become tyrants in defense of those same interests, the Socialist party reasserts these fundamental rights, and is carrying on a determined fight in their defense.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(a) By shortening the workday in keeping with increased productiveness of machinery.

Machinery, invented, manufactured and operated by laborers, enables the workers of today to do from ten to one hundred times as much as the workers of one hundred years ago. Compare, for example, the stage coach and the locomotive, the sickle and the self-binder, the flail and the steam-thresher, the "village blacksmith" a modern steel mill, and the truth of this statement will be at once evident.

Yet John Stuart Mill, the great economic writer of capitalism, says: "It is questionable if all the mechanical inventions yet made have shortened the day's toil of any human being."

Benjamin Franklin, more than a century ago, declared that all the work of the world could be done in a five-hour day if all able-bodied men were employed in the most economical manner possible. Since then the power of men to produce has been multiplied almost infinitely by the wonder-working machinery.

Students of this subject estimate that if the inventions now available were utilized effectively, without the waste of competition and the maintenance of an army of unemployed at both ends of the social scale, the work of the world could be done in less than one hour's time each day.

Complete victory of the Socialist party would make

this possible. While capitalism lasts the Socialist party insists that each new invention increasing the productivity of labor should be accompanied by a corresponding decrease in the hours of labor.

In this manner industrial progress would benefit instead of injure labor.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(b) By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

Statistics have shown that by far the largest percentage of the accidents occurring in industry take place in the last hours of the day and that a disproportionately large proportion occur on the last day of the week. This simply means that the human machine has become so exhausted that it is no longer able to properly perform its functions and to protect itself.

Such inhuman exhaustion not only endangers the lives of those directly concerned each week, but ultimately shortens the life of every person who is forced to drive his brain and muscles to such an unendurable point.

Such an overworked person does not live. He simply stays on, a mere cog in the industrial mechanism, until he is broken by accident or overwork, and is then cast into the scrap heap. He cannot think. He cannot have any home or family life.

In the case of millions of workers today there is not even a single day's rest out of the seven, and the human machine runs on and on to a swifter and more tragic end.

The Socialist party insists that at least one full day and a half of each week shall be given to the worker for some semblance of freedom, even though he continue to be a slave for the other five and one-half days. This will make possible the education and common thought which will finally enable the working class to secure their freedom.

In France such a law as this is already in existence, guaranteeing at least twenty-four hours' rest each week. But in France there are SEVENTY-FIVE SOCIALISTS IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.

Factory Inspection.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(c) By securing a more effective inspection of workshops and factories.

The factories of the United States are notorious as gigantic murder machines. In 1900 the United States census reported that 57,513 persons were killed in industrial accidents that year. Twenty-two thousand eight hundred and forty were killed in the coal mines of this country during the 117 years ending with 1906.

There is scarcely any industry that does not have its particular form of death and injury. The last bulletin of the United States department of labor states that "the consumption death rate of marble and stonecutters in the

United States is nearly six times that of bankers, brokers and officials of companies."

The same authority gives a long list of other diseases caused by the condition of employment that annually take a terrible toll of working-class lives and limbs. Nearly all of these conditions could be abolished by proper legislation and adequate inspection.

In many occupations today the rate of dead and injured is higher than in any modern war.

Yet the only political party that dares to stand in opposition to this terrible slaughter of the workers is the Socialist party.

Child Labor.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(d) By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

The presence of such a plank, like the one on free speech and press, is in itself a reflection on American civilization. That at a time when millions of strong men are begging for an opportunity to work the children of the race should be overworked is a terrible indictment of present society.

Yet there are seven states in which children twelve years of age are allowed to work. These are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Pennsylvania and South Carolina. It will be noticed that six of these states are solidly Democratic and the other is the **MOST COMPLETELY REPUBLICAN STATE IN THE UNION**. From these parties the workers of America are asked to choose their **FRIENDS TO BE REWARDED**.

In North Carolina the age limit is put at thirteen, but the child of this age is permitted to work eleven hours a day. In Pennsylvania the 12-year-old child is allowed to work **ONLY IN BITUMINOUS MINES**.

The United States Census Bureau admits that its statistics of child labor are manifestly too optimistic in that they do not include all those employed. Yet these statistics show that in 1900 there were 142,105 children at work who were but **TEN YEARS OLD**; 158,778 had reached the age of **ELEVEN**, while there were 221,313 employed at the age of twelve.

The society that works its children is a cannibal. It is devouring its own offspring. It is destroying its own future.

England tried this and today her working class is so weak and undersized that it was necessary during the Boer War three times to reduce the already low physical standard in order to secure recruits.

Today the United States is the only country of any importance that permits children under fourteen years to work in mills, mines and factories for a longer period than eight hours per day.

Yet neither the Republican platform nor the Democratic platform contains any provision on this point, although the latter has been pronounced satisfactory to labor by some officers of trade unions.

Restricting Trade in Blood.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(e) By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories.

The Democratic and Republican parties try to dodge any responsibility during a Presidential campaign for the conditions under which laborers must work by saying that all such things belong to the states and have no place in a national campaign. These same parties, however, make no effort to do anything within the states.

This plank of the Socialist platform points out a way by which the national government can at once COMPEL better conditions in nearly every factory in the United States. There are very few industries that do not sell their products in the national market. If the national government should make a law providing for the inspection of all such products and providing that only those which are manufactured under healthful conditions and with proper safeguards for the health of employes should be admitted to interstate commerce there would be an end to all sweat-shops, child labor and convict labor and of all death-traps in factories. If such a law was enforced with regard to the big firms engaged in interstate commerce it would then be to the interest of these firms to see that it was enforced upon their smaller competitors.

A precedent for such legislation is seen in the pure food law and the laws providing for inspection of meat in the packing houses.

Abolish the Poor House.

VII.—The improvement of the industrial condition of the workers.

(f) By abolishing official charity and substituting in its place compulsory insurance against unemployment, illness, accidents, invalidism, old age and death.

This might be called a plank for the abolition of the poorhouse and the potter's field.

It has been estimated by Prof. C. U. Bushnell of Chicago University that 3,000,000 people in this country receive aid from charitable institutions annually. This is in "prosperous" times. In such a period as we are now in the number is at least doubled.

One person in every ten who dies in New York is buried in the potter's field. Robert Hunter estimates that "there are no fewer than ten million people who are much of the time underfed, poorly clothed and improperly housed."

Practically all of this suffering is due to the defects of our present system. But within that system the particular persons who will suffer are determined almost entirely by unemployment, illness, accidents, sickness, old age and death, either on the part of the person directly concerned or of someone upon whom he is dependent.

Yet the only assistance which is given to these suf-

ferers is the humiliating and ridiculously inadequate relief of charity.

In other lands, where Socialism is strong, the things asked for in this demand have already been granted in whole or part. In Germany the workers who suffer from sickness, old age and accidents receive each day over \$375,000. Up to 1903 the German government had paid out through its insurance provisions over ONE BILLION DOLLARS for the relief of over SIXTY MILLION PERSONS who had come under the provisions of the law.

England is now following the same road because of the growth of Socialist strength, and has enacted a bill providing for old-age pensions.

Belgium, where the Socialists have thirty-seven representatives in the legislative body, has adopted a method of insurance against unemployment by extending relief through the trade unions.

This country will soon be standing in unenviable isolation as being the only pretendedly civilized country that turns its sick and aged workers out to die like broken-down horses when they are no longer capable of producing profits.

It is almost needless to say that neither the Democratic nor the Republican parties have anything to say on this subject which is of most vital interest to the entire working class.

Inheritance Taxes.

VIII.—The extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the amount of the bequests and to the nearness of kin.

Just for a moment let us grant that the present generation of capitalists worked and earned what they have. Do not laugh, it is only granted for the sake of argument. But granting this, it does not follow that they should be permitted to reach their dead hands into the future and rule yet unborn generations.

Marshall Field accumulated a fortune that made him the master of Chicago. He is dead, but his hand reaches on and directs the destiny of millions of men, women and children. Every person that rides upon the railroads running into Chicago, that steps into a Pullman car, that hang to a strap in a street car or works for any one of a hundred other industries, must pay tribute and have their lives controlled by this dead hand. For more than a generation the terms of a will must direct the destinies of millions who were not even born when that will was written.

Such a tax would afford much of the funds needed for great works of public interest that are demanded elsewhere in the Socialist platform. It would, with other measures to be discussed later, furnish the money for old-age pensions.

Such a law would help to stop the formation of a permanent financial autocracy, and would restore some small portion of the plunder now taken from Labor. It would divert a portion of the funds which now go to maintain monkey parties, stuffed and pampered dogs, and to d

bauch the women of the working class into channels where it would assist those who are suffering from the system that accumulated that wealth.

Inheritance laws are already in operation in the Australian commonwealths, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cape Colony, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway, Roumania, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and thirty-five states and territories of the United States.

There is such a diversity of state laws, however, that it is possible to avoid any especially effective legislation. Furthermore, none of the state laws is of a character to reach the real evils which an inheritance tax should be designed to reach. In most cases the tax rate is so low that its effect as a measure of expropriation of unearned incomes is very slight.

Income Tax.

IX.—A graduated income tax.

There is a common belief that this plank calls for the enactment of an unconstitutional law. It must be remembered in considering the question of constitutionality that "Dooley" expressed a profounder truth than many a constitutional lawyer when he remarked that "the Supreme court follows th' illiction rayturns."

An income tax was constitutional when Northern capitalists "needed the money" to carry on the Civil War. It will be constitutional whenever a majority of the voters decide that they need it to control plutocratic power and furnish funds for working class relief. That is, it will be constitutional if that majority EXPRESSES ITSELF IN A MANNER THAT SHOWS IT MEANS WHAT IT SAYS. A couple of million Socialist votes this fall would do more to insure the enactment of an income tax than a two-to-one victory for Bryan and the Democratic party with its income tax plank. It would do this because the growth of Socialism means the growth of a power that proposes to TAKE ALL. The victory of Democracy means the triumph of another division of those who HAVE ALL and will GIVE what they feel like.

The arguments for such a tax are so obvious as scarcely to be worthy of repetition. It comes nearer than any other form of taxation, especially when combined with an inheritance tax, to placing the burdens of government on those who derive the most benefits from that government and who are best able to pay. It affords an opportunity of using the power of taxation for purposes of social control, as a simple manipulation of such a tax can regulate the flow of the entire social income.

Its inclusion in the Socialist platform offers another answer to those who would ask where the money would be secured for the various things which the Socialist party proposes to do for the benefit of the workers.

Woman Suffrage.

X.—Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women, and we pledge ourselves to engage in an active campaign in that direction.

There was a time when this plank would have found

favor in the sight of many leaders of the capitalist parties. Indeed, it has not been so many years since the suffrage was granted in some of the western states of this country through the activity of non-Socialist parties.

In the present campaign, however, all other parties have directly refused to consider the question of woman suffrage, with the exception of the Prohibition party, which took refuge in cowardly evasion. Hearst, who has so often published such ringing editorials demanding votes for women, refused to permit a plank voicing that demand to appear in his privately owned "Independence" party platform.

At the same time the old style of woman suffrage is becoming a CLASS QUESTION. Woman is demanding the ballot today as a weapon with which to fight for INDUSTRIAL BETTERMENT. The Chicago Journal remarked a few days ago that the old idea of a home as a partnership in which the woman agreed to "keep house" on condition that the man furnished the money is passing away. This is true. Capitalism has broken up that sort of a home and has driven the wife and mother into the industrial world, where she must help earn the money with which the house is "kept." More than five million women are now engaged in industry in the United States. For them the use of government as an instrument in the struggle for the distribution of wealth has become a paramount political consideration.

The working woman is not asking for the ballot because of "taxation without representation" nor on any idealistic ground of the "equality of sexes." She is demanding it, as the workingmen are demanding it in those countries where they are still disfranchised, that she may use it in her struggle for better conditions.

For this reason the Socialist party must, from its very nature, be pledged to woman suffrage. To be sure, a majority of working women have not yet recognized these facts. Neither have a majority of the workingmen. But unless the men or the women have the power to fight it will do little good for them to come to know their needs and opportunities.

So it is that the Socialist party pledges itself to an active campaign for woman suffrage. It has already redeemed that pledge since the convention by organizing and carrying on an active campaign on this subject in many of the principal cities. It is preparing to extend this campaign still further and to make it more effective as time passes.

Direct Legislation.

XI.—The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall.

These are simply steps to democratize the machinery of government by which society is ruled. No one who believes in the rule of the people by majority vote can oppose such measures. They only provide a method by which the will of the voters can be directly and effectively expressed.

The initiative and referendum furnishes a means by which such laws as are desired by the voters may be en-

acted in spite of the opposition of those who may pretend to represent the voters, but who have passed out of their control.

Proportional representation provides for a method of making those who are elected to legislative bodies more nearly representative of those who elect them. In the present form of government a minority party, even though it contains 49 per cent of the voters, may be completely deprived of representation.

The "right to recall" retains the power of control over officials in the hands of those who elected them. If any official proves false to his pledges or goes contrary to the wishes of his constituents he can be withdrawn from office.

All of these measures are valuable today as a preparation for the time when the workers will wake up to the necessity of using government for industrial purposes. They are also, in the language of the introduction to the Socialist program, "measures calculated to increase the power of resistance of the working class to capitalist oppression."

XII.—The abolition of the senate.

The American senate was copied from the English house of lords. It is today far worse than the original. The growing democracy of England has made the house of lords, like the king, but a mere figurehead that dare not withstand the will of the house of commons.

But in the United States the power of the senate has grown. It is today far more powerful than the house of representatives. Its traditional power is due to its more perfect organization, its participation in the formation of treaties and the distribution of federal patronage, from which the popularly elected house is barred.

The indirect method of electing senators insures their control by the capitalist class, even after a majority of the people shall be in revolt. So thoroughly has this become true that the senate has long been known as the "Millionaire Club." The real ruler of the senate for years has been Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, whose daughter is married to the son of John D. Rockefeller. It has often been stated that Standard Oil rules the United States, but few realize that this rule is not simply indirectly through its control of the Democratic and Republican parties, but directly and personally. The prince of Wales does not sit as the leader of the house of lords, but the heir of John D. Rockefeller does sit as the ruler of the American senate.

The various senators have long ceased to pretend to represent states. They now represent INTERESTS. Each of the great industrial powers has its personal representative to see to it that its interests are cared for. LABOR ALONE HAS NO ONE TO CARE FOR ITS INTERESTS.

There is no hope of reforming such a body. Even direct election would help but little. The great capitalists could still control enough of the smaller states to insure control of the entire government.

The senate was established only as a CHECK ON

POPULAR GOVERNMENT. Those who wrote the Constitution said this. It has never been defended on any other grounds.

The Socialist party is opposed to all CHECKS on popular government. It believes that the people should be free and unrestrained to carry out their will and to profit by the exercise of their power.

No Judicial Usurpation.

XIII.—The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation enacted by congress. National laws to be repealed or abrogated only by act of congress or by a referendum of the whole people.

The spectacle of nine ex-corporation lawyers, appointed by one man, sitting on a bench and overthrowing legislation enacted by the hundreds of representatives elected by the votes of the whole people has become so common that most people look upon it as eternal and unchangeable. Yet it was not always so, nor need it always continue the same.

Even those who criticize this practice are commonly of the opinion that this power is conferred upon the Supreme court by the Constitution and is a part of those fundamental institutions which we owe to the "fathers of our country."

The fact is that while those "fathers" were by no means the supermen that the school books picture them, yet they are not to blame for this feature of the government. It was not until twelve years after the adoption of the Constitution that the Supreme court claimed this power.

A recent book written from a conservative point of view—Joseph P. Cotton's "The Constitutional Decisions of John Marshall"—has this to say about the first opinion embracing this principle:

In it Marshall announced the right of the Supreme court to review the constitutionality of the acts of the national legislature and the executive, the co-ordinate branches of the government. * * * Common as this conception of our courts now is, it is hard to comprehend the amazing quality of it then. No court in England has such power. There was no express warrant for it in the words of the Constitution; the existence of it was denied by every other branch of the government and by the dominant majority of the country. Moreover, no such power had been clearly anticipated by the framers of the Constitution, nor was it a necessary implication from the scheme of government they had established. If that doctrine were to be law, the SUPREME COURT WAS INDEED A FINAL POWER IN DEMOCRACY, BEYOND THE REACH OF PUBLIC OPINION. (Capitals ours.)

Thus by the usurpation of one man twelve years

after the adoption of the Constitution the whole character of the government was changed, and final power was vested in a reactionary body of nine men entirely beyond the reach of the voters.

What was thus taken away can be recovered whenever a congress dares to assert itself. This was shown during the years following the civil war when the Supreme court was about to declare unconstitutional certain legislation much in the interest of the capitalist class of the north. This class was then in complete control of congress and at once passed a law **TAKING THIS LEGISLATION OUT OF THE JURISDICTION OF THE SUPREME COURT**. At the same time the court was notified in a most unmistakable manner from speeches on the floor of congress that if it attempted to go contrary to the will of congress something would drop in the neighborhood of the Supreme court. In short, the court was informed that the power which it had usurped would be resumed by those from whom it was taken. The judges took the hint and the case was never brought to trial.

The Socialist platform offers a means by which legislation can be reviewed by what should be the real final power—**THE WHOLE PEOPLE**. For the nine judges it would substitute the millions of voters.

XIV.—That the constitution be made amendable by majority vote.

The idea that a particular set of laws adopted over a hundred years ago should be accepted as an unchangeable code for all time is one of the strangest political delusions that can well be conceived. This is especially true when it is recalled that these laws were made with no particular set of preparation and consist of a mass of compromises intended to settle problems which were extremely pressing at that time, but which have long ceased to exist.

The Constitution was adopted for a country with 3,000,000 population, seventy-five postoffices, no railroads, telegraphs, telephones, or any of the things that are most important in modern industry.

Yet it has never been amended except as a result of a civil war. It is practically impossible to amend it under the provisions which it now contains.

The Socialist party does not believe in the divine right of either kings or constitutions. It believes that there should be no check upon the will of the people save the results of their own actions. It does not believe that the present should be ruled by the past, but that "new occasions teach new duties," and that these new duties can be met only by the people who live when those duties arise and upon whom those duties devolve.

This plank in the Socialist platform is only one of many seeking the same end—the democratization of government in preparation for the time when that government shall be the instrument in the hands of the workers with which to own and control the industrial life of the nation.

Education and Health.

XV.—The enactment of further measures for general education and for the conservation of health. The bureau of education to be made a department. The creation of a department of public health.

This plank calls for further alterations in the structure of government to prepare it for the time when it shall be an instrument of service and not a club with which to restrict the action of the individual.

Modern science has shown that much of the disease with the suffering that accompanies it is preventable. No small proportion of the illness and the deaths of today is due entirely to conditions created by modern industry.

We eat and drink poison at our daily meals because poison is cheaper than food and substitution is possible without detection. We murder millions with insanitary conditions that could be removed.

The present government has two cabinet positions charged with the study of the best methods of TAKING life—the army and the navy. The Socialists believe that there ought to be at least one cabinet officer charged with the duty of SAVING LIFE.

The work of education is certainly one of the most important of any of the phases of a nation's life. It is one that especially lends itself to national governmental activity.

The best work that the present government has done has been along educational lines. Its reports, investigations, compilations, etc., have been of immense educational value. The direct work of the department of education has done much, although it is today completely under the control of what has well been designated the "educational trust," composed of those whom the great financial powers of the country had chosen for this purpose.

Under a working-class government such a department would become the central unifying force that would vastly enlarge and perfect the educational work of the entire country.

Department of Labor.

XVI.—The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and the establishment of a department of labor.

This has long been one of the demands of the American Federation of Labor. It has been felt that with a separate department of labor with a cabinet officer at its head the work of investigation and publicity would be much more thorough.

Moreover, the work of inspection and the enforcement of the laws for the protection of labor require a more thorough organization than is possible in a subordinate bureau of another department. Such a subordinate is also able to escape the responsibility which would rest upon him as a member of the cabinet.

To the Socialist, however, this plank has a wider

meaning. Like the preceding ones, it is one of the steps in the transformation of the present political government into the form which will be essential when it shall assume the industrial duties that will devolve upon it with the victory of a working-class government.

Such a department should have the duty of caring for the interests of all men employed by the government, and should be authorized to participate in all discussions as to conditions of labor. This does not mean compulsory arbitration, but simply that this department should have charge of the welfare of government employes and present their case against the purely business attitude of the departments which stand in the position of employers to such men.

Such department would be in a position to arrange for work for the unemployed in co-operation with the departments under whom the work would be directly done. It should gather statistics as to the number and location of those out of work and assist in the distribution of such unemployed in localities where work can be obtained.

These are mere suggestions of a very few of the ways in which an independent department of labor could be of service to the working class, provided that it was filled by a genuine workingman and not by some one who received his position as a reward for leading the workers into the grasp of some capitalist political party. The more that can be done in this direction while capitalism lasts, the more that the present government can be transformed into a series of bureaus ready to manage the industrial life of a nation, the easier will be the transition from capitalism to the co-operative commonwealth.

Judges and Injunctions.

XVII.—That all judges be elected by the people for short terms, and that the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation.

Here is an anti-injunction plank that is many times shorter than either that of the Republican or Democratic parties. It does not dodge, nor equivocate, nor juggle with words. It is safe to say that no judge can be found who will say of this as Holdom, the Chicago injunction judge, said of the Democratic plank, that it would have no effect if carried into action.

This plank strikes at the very heart of judicial usurpation. It goes directly after the theory of the "divine right of judges," which has supplanted the old divine right of kings.

The power of the bench at present rests on the fact that judges are appointive, and that when once appointed they are beyond the reach of the voters. This system is a part of the old idea that the people are born to be ruled and not to be trusted with any more power than they are able to wrest from their masters.

Through the school and press and platform the idea has been carefully cultivated that when a man is made a judge he is in some way raised above the common herd.

and should no longer be subject to the control of the persons over whom he is to exercise jurisdiction.

This halo, like all others, begins to disappear on close examination of the methods by which it is manufactured. A judge today is always a successful lawyer. Success means the gaining of large fees. Large fees are gained from the great capitalists and corporations. Hence, a successful lawyer is one who has succeeded in defending exploiters against the exploited. Having become a successful corporation lawyer, he is selected by some executive official who owes his election to the same capitalist influences—and is appointed a judge.

His appointment is made for life, so that he may be beyond the influence of the working class, and **DIRECTLY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE CAPITALIST CLASS.**

In spite of this halo the judge is still a human being. He is influenced by his surroundings, his friends, his opportunities for advancement, and other advantages exactly like all other human beings. He has long ago learned that those advantages can only be conferred, in his case above all others, by the ruling class. Consequently his decisions and his every act will be designed to please that class.

If he owed his election to the workers he would know that he would be held responsible to them **AND NOT TO THE CAPITALIST AGENT WHO APPOINTS HIM NOW**, and would govern himself accordingly. Such a judge would think several times before he would issue an injunction against workingmen out on strike. He would not be eager to render decisions legalizing the blacklist and making the boycott criminal if he knew that he would be held responsible for his actions by the voters, and not by the President, who is owned by the employing class.

At the same time the Socialists propose that "the power to issue injunctions shall be curbed by immediate legislation." The Socialist Party has always stood for trial by jury and for all legislation that strengthens the resistance of the individual to official tyranny. It does not believe that any especial provisions should be erected to maintain the "dignity" of a court against the dignity of those for whom that court is supposed to be erected.

The Socialist Party would strike at the root of the injunction evil by doing away with the capitalist control of the courts and making them subject to the voters. It would favor all legislation which, in the words of the preamble of this program, would strengthen the "power of resistance of the working class against capitalist oppression."

XVIII.—The free administration of justice.

This may sound like something of an academic demand. Many will say that there is free administration of justice today. These have been fortunate in not having experienced the working of the courts.

Those who have suffered at the hands of the present judicial institutions know the contrary. They know that while injustice and persecution comes without money

and without price or desire, JUSTICE costs money, and much money.

In several countries, and especially in Germany, there are public or semi-public officials whose business it is to defend the rights of those lacking the money with which to defend themselves. These officials are especially useful in all cases affecting labor.

Without these special officials there are a multitude of places where the road to as much justice as is possible under capitalism could be smoothed. The system of apportioning court costs, of substituting fines for imprisonment, and the excessive fees charged, are some of the obstacles that will stand in the way of even that semblance of justice which comes with the "day in court," to which every person who desires it is supposed to be entitled.

The program of action of the Socialist Party closes with these words—

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

Here is the portion of the program that gives it meaning, emphasis, unity, and distinguishes it from the platforms of all other parties. That some of the planks of the Socialist platform have, of recent years, found their way into the platforms of other political parties, is a tribute to the growth of the revolutionary spirit of the working-class. As the Socialist movement grows in strength it is probable that nearly all the things demanded in this program will be enacted, in as diluted a form as possible, by other political parties.

It has been so in other countries. But this does not mean that these parties have become converted to Socialism, or that they are trying to express the interests of the workers. The same House of Lords that issued the Taff-Vale decision, a few months later passed a law repudiating that decision. The "noble Lords" had not changed their minds. They still wished to see the unions broken up. But Labor had sent thirty men into the House of Commons. Socialism was sweeping across the cities of England as the forest fire swept over the Canadian hills a while ago, and the members of the House of Lords saw that unless they moved, and moved quickly, there would be no House of Lords. So they passed the bill giving to the unions all that Gompers is now expecting from the Democratic party.

The same thing happened in Germany, in Belgium and in half a dozen other countries. It did not happen because the Socialists asked for these things and NO MORE. Had they done so, had they begged old age pensions and factory legislation and legalization of the boycott and picketing from the Liberals and Conservatives they would have been begging yet. But the workers said, "We want these things but we want them only as a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of

government in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry.' " It was the knowledge of what LAY BACK of the demands for reforms that made SURE THE ENACTMENT OF THE REFORMS.

So it will be here. It is only because a half million voters have declared their intention to "seize the whole powers of government" that Bryan and Hearst are willing to promise all these things to the laborers, and that even the Republican party is throwing out sops for Labor. IF LABOR BITES AT THESE SOPS IT IS ALL IT WILL GET. IF LABOR DEMANDS ALL, IT WILL GET THESE QUICKLY, AND MANY MORE.

IF LABOR IS CONTENTED WITH THE CRUMBS THEY WILL GROW FEWER AND FEWER. IF IT DEMANDS THE WHOLE LOAF THE CRUMBS WILL POUR FAST.

Moreover the whole loaf is not out of reach. If it were, there would be no crumbs thrown down. It is because the capitalists realize the possibility of Labor's complete victory that they are ready to yield much.

Therefore the only sure and practical way to secure slight relief is to threaten to take all.

TO VOTE FOR HALF A LOAF IS TO GET NOTHING. TO DEMAND THE WHOLE LOAF IS TO GET THE HALF AT ONCE AND THE WHOLE BAKERY SOON.

CHAPTER XVIII.

STRENGTH AND GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

The following tables showing the great and increasing strength of Socialism in the various countries and from W. D. P. Bliss' valuable work, "The Encyclopedia the marvelous increase in the Socialist vote are taken of Social Reform":

	Year of Election	Socialist votes	SOCIALISTS ELECTED TO—			PERCENTAGE OF—		Socialists elected mayors or to communal or other councils	Socialist Journals
			Upper House	Second House	Out of	Second House	Total electorates		
Germany.....	1907	3,258,960	10	43	397	13.1	24.3	2,000	158
France.....	1906	1,120,000	1	75	584	12.0	22.0	2,769	70
Austria.....	1907	1,041,948	0	87	425	20.4	22.6	526	45
Belgium.....	1906	469,094	7	30	166	18.0	28.5	741	56
United States.....	1904	442,402	0	0	386	0	3.2	50	50
Australia.....	1904	421,770	15	26	75	34.6	34.0	845	3
Great Britain.....	1906	342,196	0	45	670	6.7	6.7	81	12
Finland.....	1907	330,000	0	80	200	40.0	20.0	1,000	19
Italy.....	1904	320,000	0	75	508	4.9	20.0	850	92
New Zealand.....	1905	311,844	0	60	80	75.0	75.0	.....	.....
Russia.....	1906	300,000	0	160	500	12.0	21.0	.....	.....
Denmark.....	1906	77,000	4	24	114	21.0	21.0	.....	.....
Switzerland.....	1905	70,000	0	2	167	1.2	12.5	.....	.....
Holland.....	1905	65,743	0	7	100	14.2	12.5	.....	.....
Norway.....	1906	45,000	0	10	123	8.1	19.0	.....	.....
Hungary.....	1907	80,000	0	1	120	0.8	.....	.....	.....
Argentina.....	1906	35,000	0	8	201	4.0	.....	.....	.....
Bulgaria.....	1902	30,000	0	15	230	6.5	12.0	.....	.....
Sweden.....	1905	26,000	0	0	406	0	.....	.....	.....
Spain.....	1905	23,000	0	3	107	2.8	.....	.....	.....
Chile.....	1906	16,000	0	0	183	.....	12.4	.....	.....
Roumania.....	1906	118,000	0	5	15	11.1	.....	.....	.....
Luxembourg.....	1906	124,000	0	1	160	0.6	.....	.....	.....
Servia.....	1906	3,133	0	1	214	0	.....	.....	.....
Canada.....	1905	192,867	0	0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....		8,803,457	27	607	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,646

¹⁰ means none.¹¹ means unknown.¹² Estimated.¹³ Fifty-five Party Socialists and 20 Independent Socialists, besides 136 Socialist Radicals.¹⁴ 1904.¹⁵ The portion of total electorate corresponding to the proportion of Labor members in the Australian federal House of Representatives. The Australian Labor Party is practically a Socialist Party.¹⁶ Labor members elected to the federal House of Representatives. In the separate Australian state legislatures there are many more Labor representatives—34 in Queensland alone, 25 in New South Wales, 18 in Victoria.¹⁷ The portion of the total electorate corresponding to the proportion of the Labor group in the House of Commons.

¹In the Labor group. Of these, only 2 were elected as strict Party Socialists, representing the Social Democratic Federation; but 7 belong to the Independent Labor Party, which is explicitly socialistic, and 13 more belong to the Labor Representation Committee, which is practically socialistic, and 6 more still are Fabian or economic Socialists elected as radicals. Of the remaining 16 in the Labor group, if any are not socialistic they are more than balanced by those who favor Socialist measures among the Liberals, Irish Unionists, and Nationalists. The number in Parliament favoring most Socialist measures is probably nearer 100 than 45.

²The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of estimated Socialist members in the House. Almost all parties in New Zealand are more or less socialistic.

³Social Democrats and Group of Toil in the Second Duma.

⁴Members of Socialist Party.

⁵The portion of the electorate corresponding to the proportion of Socialist Deputies.

⁶As in England candidates must bear the cost of the election, Socialist candidates were nominated only in five parliamentary districts.

⁷Of these 28 are dailies. The large numbers are in countries where the trade-union papers are also Socialist papers.

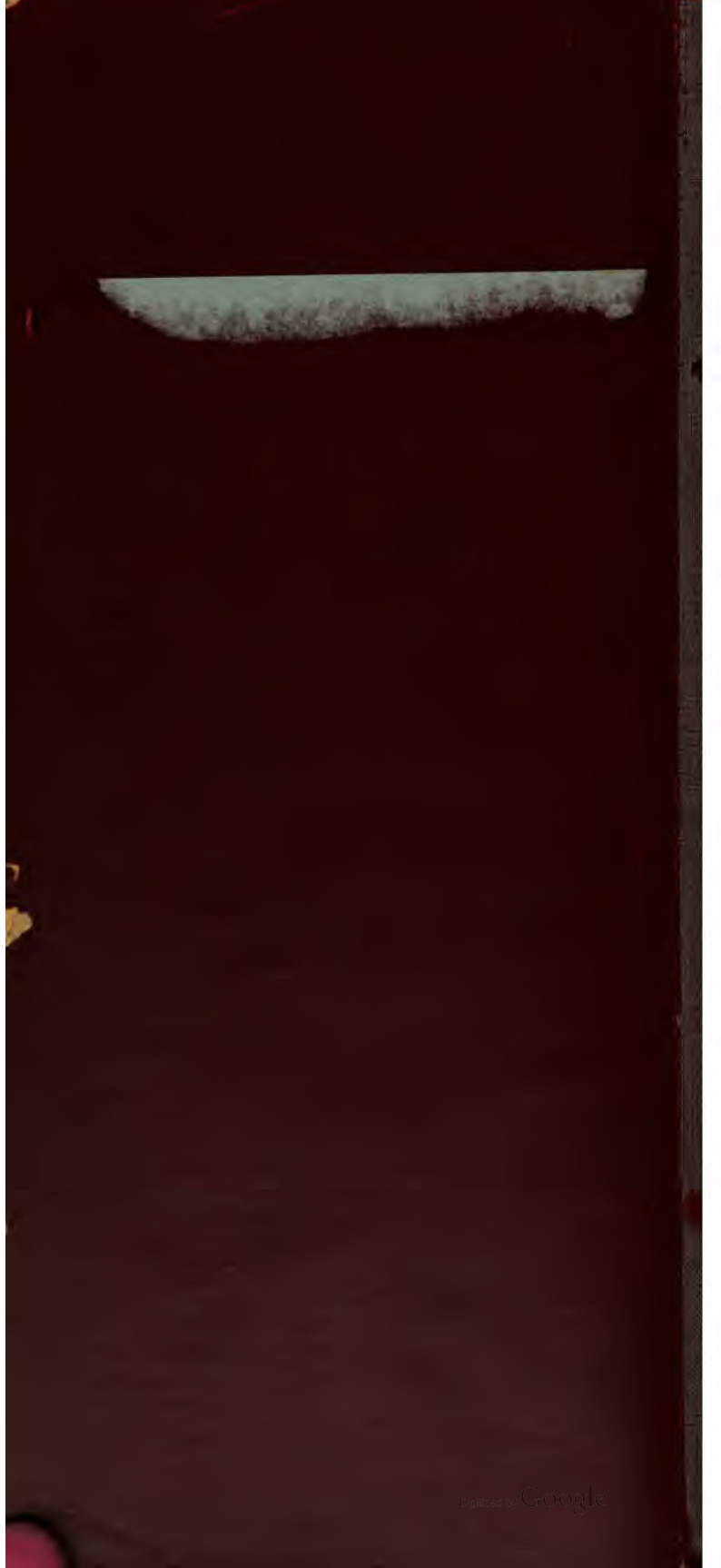
THE GROWTH OF THE SOCIALIST VOTE

ESTIMATED APPROXIMATELY FROM REPORTS AT INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

	ELECTIONS NEAREST TO THESE DATES					
	1867	1877	1887	1892	1897	1903
Germany.....	30,000	493,000	763,000	1,876,000	2,107,000	3,010,000
France.....			47,000	440,000	790,000	805,000
Austria.....					750,000	780,000
Belgium.....				320,000	467,000	464,000
United States.....			2,000	21,000	55,000	442,000
Great Britain.....					55,000	100,000
Finland.....						10,000
Italy.....			22,000	26,000	135,000	300,000
Denmark.....		1,000	8,000	20,000	32,000	53,000
Switzerland.....			2,000	39,000	40,000	100,000
Holland.....			1,500	.....	13,500	38,000
Norway.....					7,000	65,000
Sweden.....				723	.....	30,000
Spain.....				5,000	14,000	10,000
Total vote ²	30,000	404,000	931,000	1,798,000	3,896,000	6,285,000
						8,803,000

¹Estimated Labor vote, not from Socialist report.

²Including other minor countries.



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